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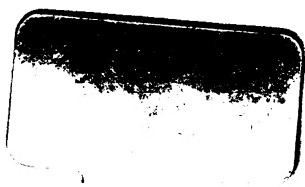
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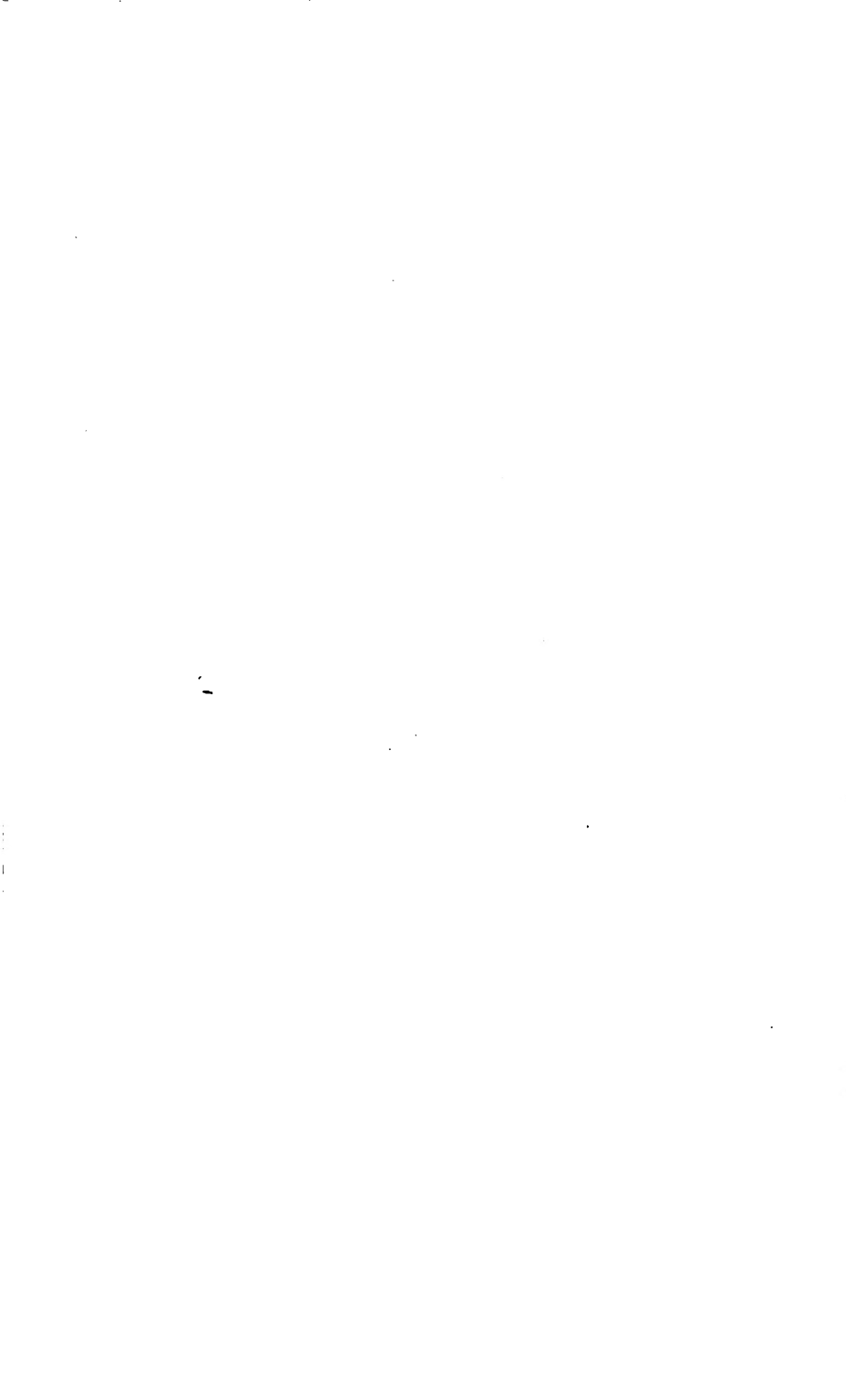
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

BY
EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

VOL. IX.

A NEW EDITION.



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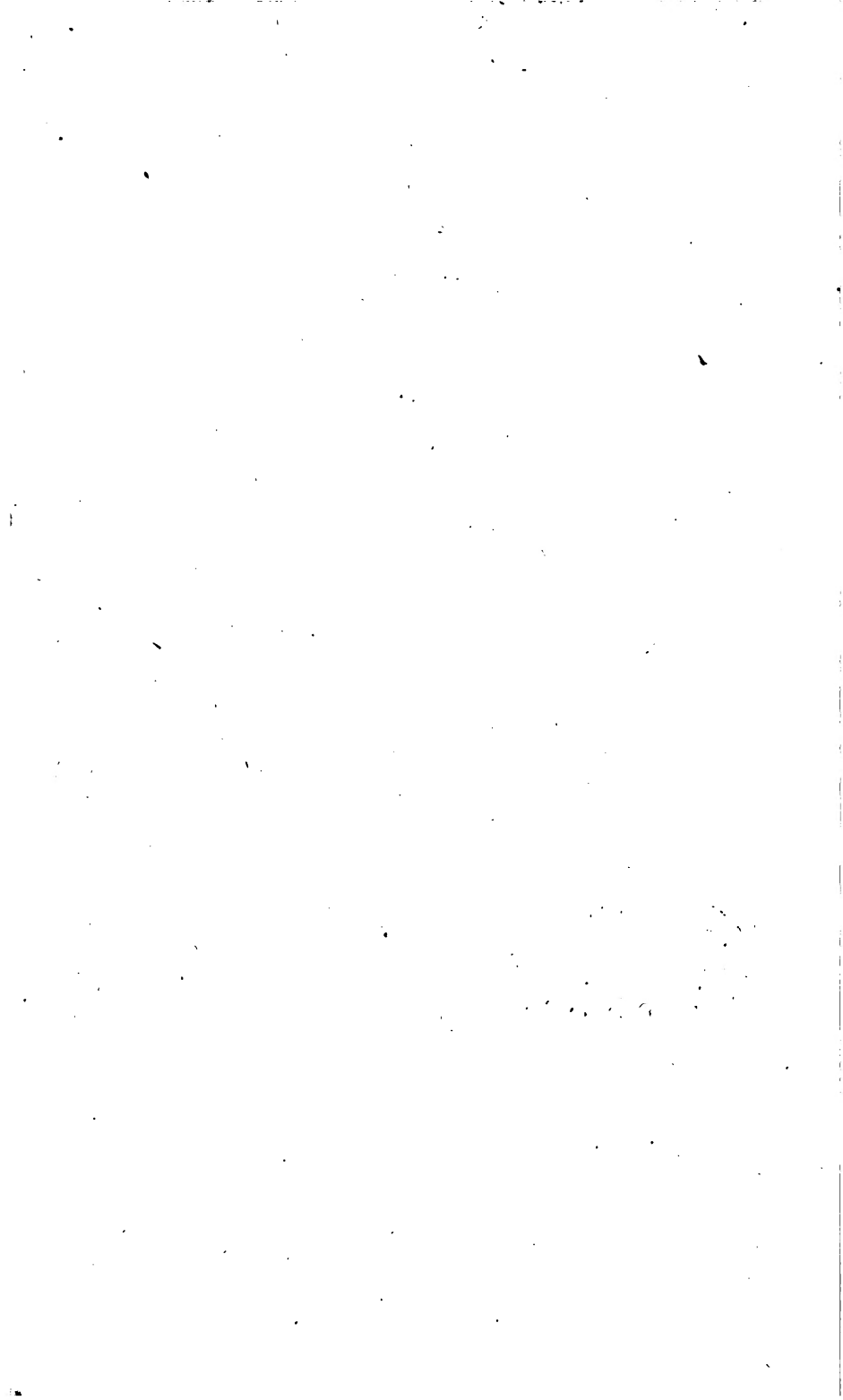


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		The

CHAP. of Constantinople by the Turks. Should I per-
XLVIII. severe in the same course, should I observe the
same measure, a prolix and slender thread would
be spun through many a volume, nor would the
patient reader find an adequate reward of instruc-
tion or amusement. At every step as we sink
deeper in the decline and fall of the Eastern em-
pire, the annals of each succeeding reign would
impose a more ungrateful and melancholy task.
These annals must continue to repeat a tedious
and uniform tale of weakness and misery ; the
natural connection of causes and events would be
broken by frequent and hasty transitions, and a
minute accumulation of circumstances must de-
stroy the light and effect of those general pictures
which compose the use and ornament of a remote
history. From the time of Heraclius, the Byzan-
tine theatre is contracted and darkened ; the line
of empire, which had been defined by the laws of
Justinian and the arms of Belisarius, recedes on all
sides from our view ; the Roman name, the pro-
per subject of our inquiries, is reduced to a narrow
corner of Europe, to the lonely suburbs of Con-
stantinople ; and the fate of the Greek empire has
been compared to that of the Rhine, which loses
itself in the sands, before its waters can mingle
with the ocean. The scale of dominion is diminish-
ed to our view by the distance of time and place ;
nor is the loss of external splendour compensated
by the nobler gifts of virtue and genius. In the
last moments of her decay, Constantinople was
doubtless more opulent and populous than Athens
at her most flourishing æra, when a scanty sum of

six thousand talents, or twelve hundred thousand pounds Sterling, was possessed by twenty-one thousand male citizens of an adult age. But each of these citizens was a freeman, who dared to assert the liberty of his thoughts, words, and actions; whose person and property were guarded by equal law; and who exercised his independent vote in the government of the republic. Their numbers seem to be multiplied by the strong and various discriminations of character: Under the shield of freedom, on the wings of emulation and vanity, each Athenian aspired to the level of the national dignity. From this commanding eminence, some chosen spirits soared beyond the reach of a vulgar eye; and the chances of superior merit in a great and populous kingdom, as they are proved by experience, would excuse the computation of imaginary millions. The territories of Athens, Sparta, and their allies, do not exceed a moderate province of France or England: But after the trophies of Salamis and Plataea, they expand in our fancy to the gigantic size of Asia, which had been trampled under the feet of the victorious Greeks. But the subjects of the Byzantine empire, who assume and dishonour the names both of Greeks and Romans, present a dead uniformity of abject vices, which are neither softened by the weakness of humanity, nor animated by the vigour of memorable crimes. The freemen of antiquity might repeat, with generous enthusiasm, the sentence of Homer, "that on the first day of his servitude, the captive is deprived of one half of his manly virtue." But the poet had only seen the effects

C H A P.
XLVIII.

C H A P. of civil or domestic slavery, nor could he fore-
XLVIII. tell that the second moiety of manhood must be
annihilated by the spiritual despotism, which shackles not only the actions, but even the thoughts of the prostrate votary. By this double yoke, the Greeks were oppressed under the successors of Heraclius; the tyrant, a law of eternal justice, was degraded by the vices of his subjects; and on the throne, in the camp, in the schools, we search, perhaps with fruitless diligence, the names and characters that may deserve to be rescued from oblivion. Nor are the defects of the subject compensated by the skill and variety of the painters. Of a space of eight hundred years, the four first centuries are overspread with a cloud, interrupted by some faint and broken rays of historic light: In the lives of the emperors, from Maurice to Alexius, Basil the Macedonian has alone been the theme of a separate work; and the absence, or loss, or imperfection of contemporary evidence, must be poorly supplied by the doubtful authority of more recent compilers. The four last centuries are exempt from the reproach of penury: And with the Comnenian family, the historic muse of Constantinople again revives, but her apparel is gaudy, her motions are without elegance or grace. A succession of priests, or courtiers, treads in each other's footsteps in the same path of servitude and superstition: Their views are narrow, their judgment is feeble or corrupt; and we close the volume of copious barrenness, still ignorant of the causes of events, the characters of the actors, and the manners of the times, which they celebrate or deplore.


deplore. The observation which has been ap- C H A P.
 plied to a man, may be extended to a whole XLVIII.
 people, that the energy of the sword is commu-
 nicated to the pen; and it will be found, by ex-
 perience, that the tone of history will rise or fall
 with the spirit of the age.

From these considerations, I should have aban-
 doned, without regret, the Greek slaves and their
 servile historians, had I not reflected that the fate
 of the Byzantine monarchy is *passively* connected
 with the most splendid and important revolutions
 which have changed the state of the world. The
 space of the lost provinces was immediately re-
 plenished with new colonies and rising kingdoms:
 The active virtues of peace and war deserted from
 the vanquished to the victorious nations; and it is
 in their origin and conquests, in their religion and
 government, that we must explore the causes and
 effects of the decline and fall of the Eastern em-
 pire. Nor will this scope of narrative, the riches
 and variety of these materials, be incompatible
 with the unity of design and composition. As,
 in his daily prayers, the Musulman of Fez or Delhi
 still turns his face towards the temple of Mecca,
 the historian's eye shall be always fixed on the
 city of Constantinople. The excursive line may
 embrace the wilds of Arabia and Tartary, but the
 circle will be ultimately reduced to the decreasing
 limit of the Roman monarchy.

On this principle, I shall now establish the plan
 of the four last volumes of the present work. The
 first chapter will contain, in a regular series, the em-
 perors who reigned at Constantinople during a pe-

Its con-
 nection
 with the
 revolu-
 tions
 of the
 world.

Plan of
 the four
 last vo-
 lumes.

C H A P. XLVIII.  riod of six hundred years, from the days of Heraclius to the Latin conquest: A rapid abstract, which may be supported by a *general* appeal to the order and text of the original historians. In this introduction, I shall confine myself to the revolutions of the throne, the succession of families, the personal characters of the Greek princes, the mode of their life and death, the maxims and influence of their domestic government, and the tendency of their reign to accelerate or suspend the downfall of the Eastern empire. Such a chronological review will serve to illustrate the various argument of the subsequent chapters; and each circumstance of the eventful story of the Barbarians will adapt itself in a proper place to the Byzantine annals. The internal state of the empire, and the dangerous heresy of the Paulicians, which shook the East and enlightened the West, will be the subject of two separate chapters; but these inquiries must be postponed till our farther progress shall have opened the view of the world in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian æra. After this foundation of Byzantine history, the following nations will pass before our eyes, and each will occupy the space to which it may be entitled by greatness or merit, or the degree of connection with the Roman world and the present age. I. The FRANKS; a general appellation which includes all the Barbarians of France, Italy, and Germany, who were united by the sword and sceptre of Charlemagne. The persecution of images and their votaries, separated Rome and Italy from the Byzantine throne, and

and prepared the restoration of the Roman empire in the West. II. The ARABS or SARACENS. Three ample chapters will be devoted to this curious and interesting object. In the first, after a picture of the country and its inhabitants, I shall investigate the character of Mahomet; the character, religion, and success of the prophet. In the second, I shall lead the Arabs to the conquest of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, the provinces of the Roman empire; nor can I check their victorious career till they have overthrown the monarchies of Persia and Spain. In the third, I shall inquire how Constantinople and Europe were saved by the luxury and arts, the division and decay of the empire of the caliphs. A single chapter will include, III. The BULGARIANS. IV. HUNGARIANS, and, V. RUSSIANS, who assaulted by sea or by land the provinces and the capital; but the last of these, so important in their present greatness, will excite some curiosity in their origin and infancy. VI. The NORMANS; or rather the private adventures of that warlike people, who founded a powerful kingdom in Apulia and Sicily, shook the throne of Constantinople, displayed the trophies of chivalry, and almost realised the wonders of romance. VII. The LATINS; the subjects of the pope, the nations of the West, who enlisted under the banner of the Cross, for the recovery or relief of the holy sepulchre. The Greek emperors were terrified and preserved by the myriads of pilgrims who marched to Jerusalem with Godfrey of Bouillon and the peers of Christendom. The second and third crusades

C H A P.
XLVIII.

CHAP. trod in the footsteps of the first : Asia and Europe
 XLVIII. were mingled in a sacred war of two hundred years ;
 and the Christian powers were bravely resisted, and
 finally expelled, by Saladin and the Mamalukes
 of Egypt. In these memorable crusades, a fleet
 and army of French and Venetians were diverted
 from Syria to the Thracian Bosphorus : They as-
 sailed the capital, they subverted the Greek mo-
 narchy ; and a dynasty of Latin princes was seated
 near threescore years on the throne of Constantine.
 VIII. The GREEKS themselves, during this period
 of captivity and exile, must be considered as a fo-
 reign nation ; the enemies, and again the sove-
 reigns, of Constantinople. Misfortune had re-
 kindled a spark of national virtue ; and the Impe-
 rial series may be continued, with some dignity,
 from their restoration to the Turkish conquest.
 IX. The MOGULS and TARTARS. By the arms
 of Zingis and his descendants, the globe was
 shaken from China to Poland and Greece ; the
 sultans were overthrown ; the caliphs fell ; and the
 Cæsars trembled on their throne. The victories
 of Timour suspended, above fifty years, the final
 ruin of the Byzantine empire. X. I have already
 noticed the first appearance of the TURKS, and
 the names of the fathers, of *Seljuk* and *Othman*,
 discriminate the two successive dynasties of the na-
 tion, which emerged in the eleventh century from
 the Scythian wilderness. The former established a
 potent and splendid kingdom from the banks of the
 Oxus to Antioch and Nice ; and the first crusade was
 provoked by the violation of Jerusalem and the
 danger

danger of Constantinople. From an humble origin, the *Ottomans* arose, the scourge and terror of Christendom. Constantinople was besieged and taken by Mahomet II. and his triumph annihilates the remnant, the image, the title of the Roman empire in the East. The schism of the Greeks will be connected with their last calamities, and the restoration of learning in the Western world. I shall return from the captivity of the new, to the ruins of ancient ROME; and the venerable name, the interesting theme, will shed a ray of glory on the conclusion of my labours.

C H A P.

XLVIII.

THE emperor Heraclius had punished a tyrant and ascended his throne; and the memory of his reign is perpetuated by the transient conquest, and irreparable loss, of the Eastern provinces. After the death of Eudocia, his first wife, he disobeyed the patriarch, and violated the laws, by his second marriage with his niece Martina; and the superstition of the Greeks beheld the judgment of heaven in the diseases of the father and the deformity of his offspring. But the opinion of an illegitimate birth is sufficient to distract the choice, and loosen the obedience of the people: The ambition of Martina was quickened by maternal love, and perhaps by the envy of a step-mother; and the aged husband was too feeble to withstand the arts of conjugal allurements. Constantine, his eldest son, enjoyed in a mature age the title of Augustus; but the weakness of his constitution required a colleague


Second
marriage
and death
of Hera-
clius.

C H A P. league and a' guardian, and he yielded with secret
 XLVIII. reluctance to the partition of the empire. The se-

—
 A.D. 638,
 July 4. nate was summoned to the palace to ratify or at-
 test the association of Heracleonas, the son of
 Martina ; the imposition of the diadem was conse-
 crated by the prayer and blessing of the patriarch ;
 the senators and patricians adored the majesty of
 the great emperor and the partners of his reign ;
 and as soon as the doors were thrown open, they
 were hailed by the tumultuary but important voice
 of the soldiers. After an interval of five months,

A. D. 639,
 January. the pompous ceremonies which formed the essence
 of the Byzantine state were celebrated in the ca-
 thedral and hippodrome : The concord of the
 royal brothers was affectedly displayed, by the
 younger leaning on the arm of the elder ; and
 the name of Martina was mingled in the reluctant
 or venal acclamations of the people. Heraclius
 A. D. 641,
 Feb. 11. survived this association about two years ; his last
 testimony declared his two sons the equal heirs of
 the Eastern empire, and commanded them to ho-
 nour his widow Martina as their mother and their
 sovereign.

Constan-
 tine III.
 A. D. 641,
 February. When Martina first appeared on the throne with
 the name and attributes of royalty, she was check-
 ed by a firm, though respectful opposition ; and
 the dying embers of freedom were kindled by the
 breath of superstitious prejudice. “ We reve-
 rence,” exclaimed the voice of a citizen, “ we
 “ reverence the mother of our princes ; but to
 “ those princes alone our obedience is due ; and
 “ Constantine, the elder emperor, is of an age to
 “ sustain, in his own hands, the weight of the
 “ sceptre.

“ sceptre. Your sex is excluded by nature from C H A P.
 “ the toils of government. How could you com- XLVIII.
 “ bat, how could you answer, the Barbarians, who, 
 “ with hostile or friendly intentions, may approach
 “ the royal city? May heaven avert from the Ro-
 “ man republic this national disgrace, which would
 “ provoke the patience of the slaves of Persia.’

Martina descended from the throne with indignation, and sought a refuge in the female apartment of the palace. The reign of Constantine III. lasted only one hundred and three days: He expired in the thirtieth year of his age, and, although his life had been a long malady, a belief was entertained that poison had been the means, and his cruel step-mother the author, of his untimely fate. Martina reaped, indeed, the harvest of his death, and assumed the government in the name of the surviving emperor; but the incestuous widow of Heraclius was universally abhorred; the jealousy of the people was awakened, and the two orphans, whom Constantine had left, became the objects of the public care. It was in vain that the son of Martina, who was no more than fifteen years of age, was taught to declare himself the guardian of his nephews, one of whom he had presented at the baptismal font: It was in vain that he swore on the wood of the true Cross, to defend them against all their enemies. On his death-bed, the late emperor dispatched a trusty servant to arm the troops and provinces of the East in the defence of his helpless children: The eloquence and liberality of Valentin had been successful, and from his camp of Chalcedon, he boldly demanded

Heraclionas,
 A. D. 641,
 May 25.

the

C H A P. the punishment of the assassins, and the restoration
XLVIII. of the lawful heir. The licence of the soldiers,
 who devoured the grapes, and drank the wine of
 their Asiatic vineyards, provoked the citizens of
 Constantinople against the domestic authors of their
 calamities, and the dome of St Sophia re-echoed,
 not with prayers and hymns, but with the clamours
 and imprecations of an enraged multitude. At
 their imperious command, Heracleonas appeared
 in the pulpit with the eldest of the royal orphans;
 Constans alone was saluted as emperor of the Ro-
 mans, and a crown of gold, which had been taken
 from the tomb of Heraclius, was placed on his
 head, with the solemn benediction of the patriarch.
 But in the tumult of joy and indignation, the
 church was pillaged, the sanctuary was polluted
 by a promiscuous crowd of Jews and Barbarians;
 and the Monothelite Pyrrhus, a creature of the
 empress, after dropping a protestation on the altar,
 escaped by a prudent flight from the zeal of the
 Catholics. A more serious and bloody task was
 reserved for the senate, who derived a temporary
 strength from the consent of the soldiers and peo-
 ple. The spirit of Roman freedom revived the
 ancient and awful examples of the judgment of
 tyrants, and the Imperial culprits were deposed
 and condemned as the authors of the death of Con-
 stantine. But the severity of the conscript fathers
 was stained by the indiscriminate punishment of
 the innocent and the guilty: Martina and Hera-
 cleonas were sentenced to the amputation, the
 former of her tongue, the latter of his nose; and
 after this cruel execution, they consumed the re-
 mainder

Punish-
 ment of
 Martina
 and Hera-
 cleonas,
 A. D. 641,
 Septem-
 ber.

mainder of their days in exile and oblivion. The
 Greeks who were capable of reflection might find
 some consolation for their servitude, by observing
 the abuse of power when it was lodged for a mo-
 ment in the hands of an aristocracy.

C H A P.
 XLVIII.

We shall imagine ourselves transported five
 hundred years backwards to the age of the Anto-
 nines, if we listen to the oration which Constans
 II. pronounced in the twelfth year of his age be-
 fore the Byzantine senate. After returning his
 thanks for the just punishment of the assassins
 who had intercepted the fairest hopes of his fa-
 ther's reign, "By the divine providence," said
 the young emperor, and by your righteous decree,
 "Martina and her incestuous progeny have been
 "cast headlong from the throne. Your majesty
 "and wisdom have prevented the Roman state
 "from degenerating into lawless tyranny. I there-
 "fore exhort and beseech you to stand forth as the
 "counsellors and judges of their common safety."
 The senators were gratified by the respectful ad-
 dress and liberal donative of their sovereign; but
 these servile Greeks were unworthy and regardless
 of freedom; and in his mind, the lesson of an hour
 was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age,
 and the habits of despotism. He retained only a
 jealous fear lest the senate or people should one
 day invade the right of primogeniture, and seat
 his brother Theodosius on an equal throne. By
 the imposition of holy orders, the grandson of He-
 raclius was disqualified for the purple; but this ce-
 remony, which seemed to profane the sacraments
 of

Constans
 II. A. D.
 641, Sep-
 tember.

C H A P. of the church, was insufficient to appease the sus-
XLVIII. picions of the tyrant, and the death of the deacon

Theodosius could alone expiate the crime of his royal birth. His murder was avenged by the imprecations of the people, and the assassin, in the fulness of power, was driven from his capital into voluntary and perpetual exile. Constans embarked for Greece; and, as if he meant to retort the abhorrence which he deserved, he is said, from the Imperial galley, to have spit against the walls of his native city. After passing the winter at Athens, he sailed to Tarentum in Italy, visited Rome, and concluded a long pilgrimage of disgrace and sacrilegious rapiné, by fixing his residence at Syracuse. But if Constans could fly from his people, he could not fly from himself. The remorse of his conscience created a phantom who pursued him by land and sea, by day and by night; and the visionary Theodosius, presenting to his lips a cup of blood, said, or seemed to say, " Drink, brother, drink ;" a sure emblem of the aggravation of his guilt, since he had received from the hands of the deacon the mystic cup of the blood of Christ. Odious to himself and to mankind, Constans perished by domestic, perhaps by episcopal treason, in the capital of Sicily. A servant who waited in the bath, after pouring warm water on his head, struck him violently with the vase. He fell, stunned by the blow, and suffocated by the water; and his attendants, who wondered at the tedious delay, beheld with indifference the corpse of their lifeless emperor. The troops of Sicily invested with
the

the purple an obscure youth, whose inimitable beauty eluded, and it might easily elude, the declining art of the painters and sculptors of the age.

C H A P.
XLVIII.



Constantine IV.
Pogonatus,
A. D. 668,
September.

Constans had left in the Byzantine palace three sons, the eldest of whom had been clothed in his infancy with the purple. When the father summoned them to attend his person in Sicily, these precious hostages were detained by the Greeks, and a firm refusal informed him that they were the children of the state. The news of his murder was conveyed with almost supernatural speed from Syracuse to Constantinople; and Constantine, the eldest of his sons, inherited his throne without being the heir of the public hatred. His subjects contributed, with zeal and alacrity, to chastise the guilt and presumption of a province which had usurped the rights of the senate and people; the young emperor sailed from the Hellespont with a powerful fleet; and the legions of Rome and Carthage were assembled under his standard in the harbour of Syracuse. The defeat of the Sicilian tyrant was easy, his punishment just, and his beautiful head was exposed in the hippodrome: But I cannot applaud the clemency of a prince, who, among a croud of victors, condemned the son of a patrician, for deploring with some bitterness the execution of a virtuous father. The youth was castrated; he survived the operation, and the memory of this indecent cruelty is preserved by the elevation of Germanus to the rank of a patriarch and saint. After pouring this bloody libation on his father's tomb, Constantine returned to his capital, and the growth of his young beard during the

the

C H A P. the Sicilian voyage, was announced by the familiar
 XLVIII. surname of Pogonatus, to the Grecian world. But
 his reign, like that of his predecessor, was stained
 with fraternal discord. On his two brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius, he had bestowed the title of Augustus; an empty title, for they continued to languish, without trust or power, in the solitude of the palace. At their secret instigation, the troops of the Anatolian *theme* or province approached the city on the Asiatic side, demanded for the royal brothers the partition or exercise of sovereignty, and supported their seditious claim by a theological argument. They were Christians (they cried) and orthodox Catholics; the sincere votaries of the holy and undivided Trinity. Since there are three equal persons in heaven, it is reasonable there should be three equal persons upon earth. The emperor invited these learned divines to a friendly conference, in which they might propose their arguments to the senate: They obeyed the summons; but the prospect of their bodies hanging on the gibbet in the suburb of Galata, reconciled their companions to the unity of the reign of Constantine. He pardoned his brothers, and their names were still pronounced in the public acclamations; but on the repetition or suspicion of a similar offence, the obnoxious princes were deprived of their titles and noses, in the presence of the Catholic bishops, who were assembled at Constantinople in the sixth general synod. In the close of his life, Pogonatus was anxious only to establish the right of primogeniture: The hair of his two sons, Justinian and Heraclius, was offered on the shrine of St Peter,

as

as a symbol of their spiritual adoption by the pope; but the elder was alone exalted to the rank of Augustus and the assurance of the empire.

C H A P.

XLVIII.

After the decease of his father, the inheritance of the Roman world devolved to Justinian II.; and the name of a triumphant lawgiver was dishonoured by the vices of a boy, who imitated his namesake only in the expensive luxury of building. His passions were strong; his understanding was feeble; and he was intoxicated with a foolish pride, that his birth had given him the command of millions, of whom the smallest community would not have chosen him for their local magistrate. His favourite ministers were two beings the least susceptible of human sympathy, an eunuch and a monk; to the one he abandoned the palace, to the other the finances; the former corrected the emperor's mother with a scourge, the latter suspended the insolvent tributaries, with their heads downward, over a slow and smoaky fire. Since the days of Commodus and Caracalla, the cruelty of the Roman princes had most commonly been the effect of their fear; but Justinian, who possessed some vigour of character, enjoyed the sufferings, and braved the revenge, of his subjects about ten years, till the measure was full, of his crimes and of their patience. In a dark dungeon, Leontius, a general of reputation, had groaned above three years with some of the noblest and most deserving of the patricians: he was suddenly drawn forth to assume the government of Greece; and this promotion of an injured man was a mark of the con-

Justinian
II. A. D.
685. Sep-
tember.

C H A P. tempt rather than of the confidence of his prince.

XLVIII.

As he was followed to the port by the kind offices of his friend, Leontius observed with a sigh, that he was a victim adorned for sacrifice, and that inevitable death would pursue his footsteps. They ventured to reply, that glory and empire might be the recompence of a generous resolution; that every order of men abhorred the reign of a monster; and that the hands of two hundred thousand patriots expected only the voice of a leader. The night was chosen for their deliverance; and in the first effort of the conspirators, the præfect was slain, and the prisons were forced open; the emissaries of Leontius proclaimed in every street, "Christians, to St Sophia;" and the seasonable text of the patriarch, "this is the day of the Lord!" was the prelude of an inflammatory sermon. From the church the people adjourned to the hippodrome: Justinian, in whose cause not a sword had been drawn, was dragged before those tumultuary judges, and their clamours demanded the instant death of the tyrant. But Leontius, who was already clothed with the purple, cast an eye of pity on the prostrate son of his own benefactor, and of so many emperors. The life of Justinian was spared; the amputation of his nose, perhaps of his tongue, was imperfectly performed; the happy flexibility of the Greek language could impose the name of Rhinotmetus; and the mutilated tyrant was banished to Chersonæ in Crim-Tartary, a lonely settlement, where corn, wine, and oil, were imported as foreign luxuries.

On

C H A P.

XLVIII.

His exile,
A. D.
695—705.

On the edge of the Scythian wilderness, Justinian still cherished the pride of his birth and the hope of his restoration. After three years exile, he received the pleasing intelligence that his injury was avenged by a second revolution, and that Leontius in his turn had been dethroned and mutilated by the rebel Apsimar, who assumed the more respectable name of Tiberius. But the claim of lineal succession was still formidable to a plebeian usurper; and his jealousy was stimulated by the complaints and charges of the Chersonites, who beheld the vices of the tyrant in the spirit of the exile. With a band of followers, attached to his person by common hope or common despair, Justinian fled from the inhospitable shore to the hord of the Chozars, who pitched their tents between the Tanais and Borysthenes. The khan entertained with pity and respect the royal suppliant: Phanagoria, once an opulent city, on the Asiatic side of the lake Mœotis, was assigned for his residence; and every Roman prejudice was stifled in his marriage with the sister of the Barbarian, who seems, however, from the name of Theodora, to have received the sacrament of baptism. But the faithless Chozar was soon tempted by the gold of Constantinople; and had not the design been revealed by the conjugal love of Theodora, her husband must have been assassinated, or betrayed into the power of his enemies. After strangling, with his own hands, the two emissaries of the khan, Justinian sent back his wife to her brother, and embarked on the Euxine in search of new and more faithful allies. His vessel

C H A P. was assaulted by a violent tempest; and one of
 XLVIII. his pious companions advised him to deserve the
 { mercy of God by a vow of general forgiveness,
 if he should be restored to the throne. "Of for-
 giveness?" replied the intrepid tyrant; "may
 I perish this instant—may the Almighty overwhelm
 me in the waves—if I consent to spare a single
 head of my enemies!" He survived this im-
 pious menace, sailed into the mouth of the Da-
 nube, trusted his person in the royal village of
 the Bulgarians, and purchased the aid of Terbelis,
 a Pagan conqueror, by the promise of his daugh-
 ter, and a fair partition of the treasures of the em-
 pire. The Bulgarian kingdom extended to the con-
 fines of Thrace; and the two princes besieged Con-
 stantinople at the head of fifteen thousand horse.
 Apsimar was dismayed by the sudden and hostile
 apparition of his rival, whose head had been pro-
 mised by the Chozar, and of whose evasion he
 was yet ignorant. After an absence of ten years,
 the crimes of Justinian were faintly remembered,
 and the birth and misfortunes of their hereditary
 sovereign excited the pity of the multitude, ever
 discontented with the ruling powers; and by the
 active diligence of his adherents he was intro-
 duced into the city and palace of Constantine.

His resto-
 ration and
 death,

A. D.
 705—711.

In rewarding his allies and recalling his wife,
 Justinian displayed some sense of honour and gra-
 titude; and Terbelis retired, after sweeping away
 an heap of gold coin, which he measured with his
 Scythian whip. But never was vow more reli-
 giously performed than the sacred oath of revenge
 which he had sworn amidst the storms of the Euxine.

The

The two usurpers, for I must reserve the name of tyrant for the conqueror, were dragged into the hippodrome, the one from his prison, the other from his palace. Before their execution, Leontius and Apsimar were cast prostrate in chains beneath the throne of the emperor; and Justinian, planting a foot on each of their necks, contemplated above an hour the chariot-race, while the inconstant people shouted, in the words of the Psalmist, "Thou shalt trample on the asp and basilisk, and on the lion and dragon shalt thou set thy foot!" The universal defection which he had once experienced might provoke him to repeat the wish of Caligula, that the Roman people had but one head. Yet I shall presume to observe, that such a wish is unworthy of an ingenious tyrant, since his revenge and cruelty would have been extinguished by a single blow, instead of the slow variety of tortures which Justinian inflicted on the victims of his anger. His pleasures were inexhaustible: Neither private virtue nor public service could expiate the guilt of active, or even passive obedience to an established government; and during the six years of his new reign, he considered the axe, the cord, and the rack, as the only instruments of royalty. But his most implacable hatred was pointed against the Chersonites, who had insulted his exile and violated the laws of hospitality. Their remote situation afforded some means of defence, or at least of escape; and a grievous tax was imposed on Constantinople, to supply the preparations of a fleet and army. "All are guilty, and all must perish," was the man-

C H A P.

XLVIII.

CHAP. date of Justinian; and the bloody execution was
XLVIII. entrusted to his favourite Stephen, who was recommended by the epithet of the savage. Yet even the savage Stephen imperfectly accomplished the intentions of his sovereign. The slowness of his attack allowed the greater part of the inhabitants to withdraw into the country; and the minister of vengeance contented himself with reducing the youth of both sexes to a state of servitude, with roasting alive seven of the principal citizens, with drowning twenty in the sea, and with reserving forty two in chains to receive their doom from the mouth of the emperor. In their return, the fleet was driven on the rocky shores of Anatolia; and Justinian applauded the obedience of the Euxine, which had involved so many thousands of his subjects and enemies in a common shipwreck: But the tyrant was still insatiate of blood; and a second expedition was commanded to extirpate the remains of the proscribed colony. In the short interval, the Chersonites had returned to their city, and were prepared to die in arms; the khan of the Chozars had renounced the cause of his odious brother; the exiles of every province were assembled in Tauris; and Bardanes, under the name of Philippicus, was invested with the purple. The Imperial troops, unwilling and unable to perpetrate the revenge of Justinian, escaped his displeasure by abjuring his allegiance: The fleet, under their new sovereign, steered back a more auspicious course to the harbours of Sinope and Constantinople; and every tongue was prompt to pronounce, every hand to execute, the death of the
the

the tyrant. Destitute of friends, he was deserted C H A P.
 by his Barbarian guards; and the stroke of the XLVIII.
 assassin was praised as an act of patriotism and
 Roman virtue. His son Tiberius had taken refuge
 in a church; his aged grandmother guarded the
 door; and the innocent youth, suspending round
 his neck the most formidable relics, embraced with
 one hand the altar, with the other the wood of
 the true Cross. But the popular fury that dares
 to trample on superstition, is deaf to the cries of
 humanity; and the race of Heraclius was extin-
 guished after a reign of one hundred years.

Between the fall of the Heraclian and the rise Philippi-
 of the Isaurian dynasty, a short interval of six years cus,
 is divided into three reigns. Bardanes, or Philip- A. D. 711,
 picus, was hailed at Constantinople as an hero who December.
 had delivered his country from a tyrant; and he
 might taste some moments of happiness in the first
 transports of sincere and universal joy. Justinian
 had left behind him an ample treasure, the fruit
 of cruelty and rapine; but this useful fund was soon
 and idly dissipated by his successor. On the fes-
 tival of his birth-day, Philippicus entertained the
 multitude with the games of the hippodrome; from
 thence he paraded through the streets with a thou-
 sand banners and a thousand trumpets; refreshed
 himself in the baths of Zeuxippus, and, returning
 to the palace, entertained his nobles with a sump-
 tuous banquet. At the meridian hour he with-
 drew to his chamber, intoxicated with flattery and
 wine, and forgetful that his example had made
 every subject ambitious, and that every ambitious
 subject was his secret enemy. Some bold con-

C H A P. spirators introduced themselves in the disorder of
 XLVIII. the feast ; and the slumbering monarch was surprised, bound, blinded, and deposed, before he

Anastasi-
 us II.
 A. D. 713,
 June 4.

Theodo-
 sius III.
 A. D. 716,
 January.

was sensible of his danger. Yet the traitors were deprived of their reward ; and the free voice of the senate and people promoted Artemius from the office of secretary to that of emperor : he assumed the title of Anastasius the second, and displayed in a short and troubled reign the virtues both of peace and war. But, after the extinction of the Imperial line, the rule of obedience was violated, and every change diffused the seeds of new revolutions. In a mutiny of the fleet, an obscure and reluctant officer of the revenue was forcibly invested with the purple ; after some months of a naval war, Anastasius resigned the sceptre ; and the conqueror, Theodosius the third, submitted in his turn to the superior ascendant of Leo, the general and emperor of the Oriental troops. His two predecessors were permitted to embrace the ecclesiastical profession : the restless impatience of Anastasius tempted him to risk and to lose his life in a treasonable enterprise ; but the last days of Theodosius were honourable and secure. The single sublime word, " HEALTH," which he inscribed on his tomb, expresses the confidence of philosophy or religion ; and the fame of his miracles was long preserved among the people of Ephesus. This convenient shelter of the church might sometimes impose a lesson of clemency ; but it may be questioned whether it is for the public interest to diminish the perils of unsuccessful ambition.

I have

I have dwelt on the fall of a tyrant ; I shall briefly represent the founder of a new dynasty, who is known to posterity by the invectives of his enemies, and whose public and private life is involved in the ecclesiastical story of the Iconoclasts. Yet in spite of the clamours of superstition, a favourable prejudice for the character of Leo the Isaurian, may be reasonably drawn from the obscurity of his birth, and the duration of his reign.—I. In an age of manly spirit, the prospect of an Imperial reward would have kindled every energy of the mind, and produced a crowd of competitors as deserving as they were desirous to reign. Even in the corruption and debility of the modern Greeks, the elevation of a plebeian from the last to the first rank of society, supposes some qualifications above the level of the multitude. He would probably be ignorant and disdainful of speculative science ; and in the pursuit of fortune, he might absolve himself from the obligations of benevolence and justice : but to his character we may ascribe the useful virtues of prudence and fortitude, the knowledge of mankind, and the important art of gaining their confidence and directing their passions. It is agreed that Leo was a native of Isauria, and that Conon was his primitive name. The writers, whose awkward satire is praise, describe him as an itinerant pedlar, who drove an ass with some paltry merchandise to the country fairs ; and foolishly relate that he met on the road some Jewish fortune-tellers, who promised him the Roman empire, on condition that he should abolish the worship of idols. A more probable

C H A P.

XLVIII.

Leo III.
the Isaurian,
A. D. 718,
March 25.

C H A P. probable account relates the migration of his father from Asia Minor to Thrace, where he exercised the lucrative trade of a grazier; and he must have acquired considerable wealth, since the first introduction of his son was procured by a supply of five hundred sheep to the Imperial camp. His first service was in the guards of Justinian, where he soon attracted the notice, and by degrees the jealousy, of the tyrant. His valour and dexterity were conspicuous in the Colchian war; from Anastasius he received the command of the Anatolian legions, and by the suffrage of the soldiers he was raised to the empire, with the general applause of the Roman world.—II. In this dangerous elevation, Leo the third supported himself against the envy of his equals, the discontent of a powerful faction, and the assaults of his foreign and domestic enemies. The Catholics, who accuse his religious innovations, are obliged to confess that they were undertaken with temper and conducted with firmness. Their silence respects the wisdom of his administration and the purity of his manners. After a reign of twenty-four years, he peaceably expired in the palace of Constantinople; and the purple which he had acquired was transmitted, by the right of inheritance, to the third generation.

In a long reign of thirty-four years, the son and successor of Leo, Constantine the fifth, surnamed Copronymus, attacked, with less temperate zeal, the images or idols of the church. Their votaries have exhausted the bitterness of religious gall, in their portrait of this spotted panther, this anti-christ,

Constantine V.
Copronymus,
A.D. 741,
June 18.

christ, this flying dragon of the serpent's seed, C H A P.
who surpassed the vices of Elagabalus and Nero. XLVIII.
His reign was a long butchery of whatever was {
most noble, or holy, or innocent, in his empire.
In person, the emperor assisted at the execution
of his victims, surveyed their agonies, listened to
their groans, and indulged, without satiating, his
appetite for blood: A plate of noses was accepted
as a grateful offering, and his domestics were often
scourged or mutilated by the royal hand. His
surname was derived from his pollution of his
baptismal font. The infant might be excused;
but the manly pleasures of Copronymus degraded
him below the level of a brute; his lust con-
founded the eternal distinctions of sex and species;
and he seemed to extract some unnatural delight
from the objects most offensive to human sense.
In his religion, the Iconoclast was an Heretic, a
a Jew, a Mahometan, a Pagan, and an Athiest;
and his belief of an invisible power could be dis-
covered only in his magic rites, human victims,
and nocturnal sacrifices to Venus and the dæmons
of antiquity. His life was stained with the most
opposite vices, and the ulcers which covered his
body, anticipated before his death the sentiment of
hell-tortures. Of these accusations, which I have
so patiently copied, a part is refuted by its own
absurdity; and in the private anecdotes of the life
of princes, the lie is more easy as the detection is
more difficult. Without adopting the pernicious
maxim, that where much is alleged, something
must be true, I can however discern, that Con-
stantine V. was dissolute and cruel. Calumny is
more

CHAP. more prone to exaggerate than to invent; and
XLVIII. her licentious tongue is checked in some measure by the experience of the age and country to which she appeals. Of the bishops and monks, the generals and magistrates, who are said to have suffered under his reign, the numbers are recorded, the names were conspicuous, the execution was public, the mutilation visible and permanent. The Catholics hated the person and government of Copronymus; but even their hatred is a proof of their oppression. They dissemble the provocations which might excuse or justify his rigour, but even these provocations must gradually inflame his resentment, and harden his temper in the use or the abuse of despotism. Yet the character of the fifth Constantine was not devoid of merit, nor did his government always deserve the curses or the contempt of the Greeks. From the confession of his enemies, I am informed of the restoration of an ancient aqueduct, of the redemption of two thousand five hundred captives, of the uncommon plenty of the times, and of the new colonies with which he repeopled Constantinople and the Thracian cities. They reluctantly praise his activity and courage; he was on horseback in the field at the head of his legions; and, although the fortune of his arms was various, he triumphed by sea and land, on the Euphrates and the Danube, in civil and Barbarian war. Heretical praise must be cast into the scale, to counterbalance the weight of orthodox invective. The Iconoclasts revered the virtues of the prince: Forty years after his death,
they

they still prayed before the tomb of the saint. C H A P. XLVIII.
 A miraculous vision was propagated by fanaticism or fraud: And the Christian hero appeared on a milk-white steed, brandishing his lance against the Pagans of Bulgaria: "An absurd fable," says the Catholic historian, "since Copronymus is "chained with the dæmons in the abyss of hell."

Leo the fourth, the son of the fifth, and the father of the sixth Constantine, was of a feeble constitution both of mind and body, and the principal care of his reign was the settlement of the succession. The association of the young Constantine was urged by the officious zeal of his subjects; and the emperor conscious of his decay, complied, after a prudent hesitation, with their unanimous wishes. The royal infant, at the age of five years, was crowned with his mother Irene; and the national consent was ratified by every circumstance of pomp and solemnity, that could dazzle the eyes, or bind the conscience, of the Greeks. An oath of fidelity was administered in the palace, the church, and the hippodrome, to the several orders of the state, who adjured the holy names of the son, and mother, of God. "Be witness, O Christ! that we will watch over the safety of Constantine the son of Leo, expose our lives in his service, and bear true allegiance to his person and posterity" They pledged their faith on the wood of the true cross, and the act of their engagement was deposited on the altar of St Sophia. The first to swear, and the first to violate their oath, were the five sons of Copronymus by a second marriage; and the story of these
 princes

Leo IV.
 A.D. 775.
 Sept. 14.

CHAP. princes is singular and tragic. The right of primogeniture excluded them from the throne; the injustice of their elder brother defrauded them of a legacy of about two millions Sterling; some vain titles were not deemed a sufficient compensation for wealth and power; and they repeatedly conspired against their nephew, before and after the death of his father. Their first attempt was pardoned; for the second offence they were condemned to the ecclesiastical state: And for the third treason, Nicephorus, the eldest and most guilty, was deprived of his eyes, and his four brothers, Christopher, Nicetas, Anthemeus, and Eudoxas, were punished, as a milder sentence, by the amputation of their tongues. After five years confinement, they escaped to the church of St Sophia, and displayed a pathetic spectacle to the people. "Countrymen and Christians," cried Nicephorus for himself and his mute brethren, "behold the sons of your emperor, if you can still recognize our features in this miserable state. A life, an imperfect life, is all that the malice of our enemies has spared. It is now threatened, and we now throw ourselves on your compassion." The rising murmur might have produced a revolution, had it not been checked by the presence of a minister, who soothed the unhappy princes with flattery and hope, and gently drew them from the sanctuary to the palace. They were speedily embarked for Greece, and Athens was allotted for the place of their exile. In this calm retreat, and in their helpless condition, Nicephorus and his brothers were

were tormented by the thirst of power, and tempted by a Sclavonian chief, who offered to break their prison, and to lead them in arms, and in the purple, to the gates of Constantinople. But the Athenian people, ever zealous in the cause of Irene, prevented their justice or cruelty; and the five sons of Copronymus were plunged in eternal darkness and oblivion.


For himself, that emperor had chosen a Barbarian wife, the daughter of the khan of the Chozars: But in the marriage of his heir, he preferred an Athenian virgin, an orphan, seventeen years old, whose sole fortune must have consisted in her personal accomplishments. The nuptials of Leo and Irene were celebrated with royal pomp; she soon acquired the love and confidence of a feeble husband, and in his testament he declared the empress guardian of the Roman world, and of their son Constantine the sixth, who was no more than ten years of age. During his childhood, Irene most ably and assiduously discharged, in her public administration, the duties of a faithful mother; and her zeal, in the restoration of images, has deserved the name and honours of a saint, which she still occupies in the Greek calendar. But the emperor attained the maturity of youth; the maternal yoke became more grievous; and he listened to the favourites of his own age, who shared his pleasures, and were ambitious of sharing his power. Their reasons convinced him of his right, their praises of his ability, to reign; and he consented to reward the services of Irene by a perpetual banishment to the isle of Sicily.

C H A P.
XLVIII.

Constantine VI.
and Irene,
A. D 780,
Sept. 8.

C H A P. Sicily. But her vigilance and penetration easily
XLVIII. disconcerted their rash projects; a similar, or more
severe punishment, was retaliated on themselves
and their advisers; and Irene inflicted on the un-
grateful prince the chastisement of a boy. After
this contest, the mother and the son were at the
head of two domestic factions; and, instead of
mild influence and voluntary obedience, she held
in chains a captive and an enemy. The empress
was overthrown by the abuse of victory; the oath
of fidelity, which she exacted to herself alone, was
pronounced with reluctant murmurs; and the bold
refusal of the Armenian guards encouraged a free
and general declaration, that Constantine VI.
was the lawful emperor of the Romans. In this
character he ascended his hereditary throne, and
dismissed Irene to a life of solitude and repose.
But her haughty spirit condescended to the arts of
dissimulation: She flattered the bishops and eu-
nuchs, revived the filial tenderness of the prince,
regained his confidence, and betrayed his cre-
dulity. The character of Constantine was not
destitute of sense or spirit; but his education had
been studiously neglected; and his ambitious mo-
ther exposed to the public censure the vices which
she had nourished, and the actions which she had
secretly advised: His divorce and second marriage
offended the prejudices of the clergy, and, by his
imprudent rigour, he forfeited the attachment of
the Armenian guards. A powerful conspiracy
was formed for the restoration of Irene; and the
secret, though widely diffused, was faithfully kept
above eight months, till the emperor, suspicious
of

of his danger, escaped from Constantinople, with C H A P.
the design of appealing to the provinces and XLVIII.
armies. By this hasty flight, the empress was
left on the brink of the precipice ; yet before she
implored the mercy of her son, Irene addressed a
private epistle to the friends whom she had placed
about his person, with a menace, that unless *they*
accomplished, *she* would reveal their treason.
Their fear rendered them intrepid ; they seized
the emperor on the Asiatic shore, and he was
transported to the porphyry apartment of the pa-
lace, where he had first seen the light. In the
mind of Irene, ambition had stifled every senti-
ment of humanity and nature ; and it was decreed
in her bloody council, that Constantine should be
rendered incapable of the throne : Her emissaries
assaulted the sleeping prince, and stabbed their
daggers with such violence and precipitation into
his eyes, as if they meant to execute a mortal
sentence. An ambiguous passage of Theophanes
persuaded the annalist of the church, that death
was the immediate consequence of this barbarous
execution. The Catholics have been deceived or
subdued by the authority of Baronius ; and Pro-
testant zeal has re-echoed the words of a cardinal,
desirous, as it should seem, to favour the pa-
troness of images. Yet the blind son of Irene
survived many years, oppressed by the court, and
forgotten by the world : The Isaurian dynasty was
silently extinguished ; and the memory of Con-
stantine was recalled only by the nuptials of his
daughter Euphrosyne with the emperor Michael
the second.

CHAP. The most bigoted orthodoxy has justly ex-
XLVIII.  crated the unnatural mother, who may not easily
Irene, be paralleled in the history of crimes. To her
A. D. 792, Bloody deed, superstition has attributed a subse-
Aug. 19. quent darkness of seventeen days ; during which,
many vessels in mid-day were driven from their
course, as if the sun, a globe of fire so vast and so
remote, could sympathise with the atoms of a re-
volving planet. On earth, the crime of Irene was
left five years unpunished ; her reign was crowned
with external splendour ; and if she could silence
the voice of conscience, she neither heard nor re-
garded the reproaches of mankind. The Roman
world bowed to the government of a female ; and
as she moved through the streets of Constantino-
ple, the reins of four milk-white steeds were held
by as many patricians, who marched on foot be-
fore the golden chariot of their queen. But these
patricians were for the most part eunuchs ; and
their black ingratitude justified, on this occasion,
the popular hatred and contempt. Raised, en-
riched, entrusted with the first dignities of the
empire, they basely conspired against their bene-
factress : The great treasurer Nicephorus was se-
cretly invested with the purple ; her successor was
introduced into the palace, and crowned at St
Sophia by the venal patriarch. In their first in-
terview, she recapitulated, with dignity, the revo-
lutions of her life, gently accused the perfidy of
Nicephorus, insinuated that he owed his life to
her unsuspecting clemency, and, for the throne
and treasures which she resigned, solicited a decent
and

and honourable retreat. His avarice refused this modest compensation; and, in her exile of the isle of Lesbos, the empress earned a scanty subsistence by the labours of her distaff.

C H A P.
XLVIII.

Many tyrants have reigned undoubtedly more criminal than Nicephorus, but none perhaps have more deeply incurred the universal abhorrence of their people. His character was stained with the three odious vices of hypocrisy, ingratitude, and avarice; his want of virtue was not redeemed by any superior talents, nor his want of talents by any pleasing qualifications. Unskilful and unfortunate in war, Nicephorus was vanquished by the Saracens, and slain by the Bulgarians; and the advantages of his death overbalanced, in the public opinion, the destruction of a Roman army. His son and heir Stauracius escaped from the field with a mortal wound; yet six months of an expiring life were sufficient to refute his indecent, though popular declaration, that he would in all things avoid the example of his father. On the near prospect of his decease, Michael, the great master of the palace, and the husband of his sister Procopia, was named by every person of the palace and city, except by his envious brother. Tenacious of a sceptre now falling from his hand, he conspired against the life of his successor, and cherished the idea of changing to a democracy the Roman empire. But these rash projects served only to inflame the zeal of the people, and to remove the scruples of the candidate: Michael the first accepted the purple, and before he sunk into the

Nicephorus I.
A. D. 802,
October
31.

Stauracius,
A. D. 811,
July 25.

C H A P. grave, the son of Nicephorus implored the clemency
 XLVIII. of his new sovereign. Had Michael in an age of
 peace ascended an hereditary throne, he might have
 reigned and died the father of his people; but his
 mild virtues were adapted to the shade of private
 life, nor was he capable of controlling the ambition
 of his equals, or of resisting the arms of the victo-
 rious Bulgarians. While his want of ability and
 success exposed him to the contempt of the sol-
 diers, the masculine spirit of his wife Procopia
 awakened their indignation. Even the Greeks of
 the ninth century were provoked by the insolence
 of a female, who, in the front of their standards,
 presumed to direct their discipline and animate
 their valour; and their licentious clamours advised
 the new Semiramis to reverence the majesty of a
 Roman camp. After an unsuccessful campaign, the
 emperor left, in their winter-quarters of Thrace, a
 disaffected army under the command of his ene-
 mies; and their artful eloquence persuaded the
 soldiers to break the dominion of the eunuchs, to
 degrade the husband of Procopia, and to assert the
 right of a military election. They marched to-
 wards the capital; yet the clergy, the senate, and
 the people of Constantinople, adhered to the cause
 of Michael; and the troops and treasures of Asia
 might have protracted the mischiefs of civil war.
 But his humanity (by the ambitious, it will be
 termed his weakness) protested, that not a drop
 of Christian blood should be shed in his quarrel,
 and his messengers presented the conquerors with
 the keys of the city and the palace. They were
 disarmed

Michael I.
 Rhana-
 gabe,
 A. D. 811,
 October 2.

disarmed by his innocence and submission ; his life and his eyes were spared ; and the Imperial monk enjoyed the comforts of solitude and religion above thirty-two years after he had been stripped of the purple and separated from his wife. C H A P.
XLVIII.

A rebel, in the time of Nicephorus, the famous and unfortunate Bardanes, had once the curiosity to consult an Asiatic prophet, who, after prognosticating his fall, announced the fortunes of his three principal officers, Leo the Armenian, Michael the Phrygian, and Thomas the Cappadocian, the successive reigns of the two former, the fruitless and fatal enterprise of the third. This prediction was verified, or rather was produced, by the event. Ten years afterwards, when the Thracian camp rejected the husband of Procopia, the crown was presented to the same Leo, the first in military rank and the secret author of the mutiny. As he affected to hesitate, " With this sword," said his companion Michael, " I will open the " gates of Constantinople to your Imperial sway ; " or instantly plunge it into your bosom, if you " obstinately resist the just desires of your fellow-soldiers." The compliance of the Armenian was rewarded with the empire, and he reigned seven years and an half under the name of Leo the fifth. Educated in a camp, and ignorant both of laws and letters, he introduced into his civil government the rigour and even cruelty of military discipline ; but if his severity was sometimes dangerous to the innocent, it was always formidable to the guilty. His religious inconstancy was taxed

Leo V.
the Armenian,
A. D. 813,
July 11.

CHAP. by the epithet of Chameleon, but the Catholics
 XLVIII. have acknowledged, by the voice of a saint and
 confessors, that the life of the Iconoclast was useful to the republic. The zeal of his companion Michael was repaid with riches, honours, and military command; and his subordinate talents were beneficially employed in the public service. Yet the Phrygian was dissatisfied at receiving as a favour a scanty portion of the Imperial prize which he had bestowed on his equal; and his discontent, which sometimes evaporated in a hasty discourse, at length assumed a more threatening and hostile aspect against a prince whom he represented as a cruel tyrant. That tyrant, however, repeatedly detected, warned, and dismissed the old companion of his arms, till fear and resentment prevailed over gratitude; and Michael, after a scrutiny into his actions and designs, was convicted of treason, and sentenced to be burnt alive in the furnace of the private baths. The devout humanity of the empress Theophano was fatal to her husband and family. A solemn day, the twenty-fifth of December, had been fixed for the execution: She urged, that the anniversary of the Saviour's birth would be profaned by this inhuman spectacle, and Leo consented with reluctance to a decent respite. But on the vigil of the feast, his sleepless anxiety prompted him to visit, at the dead of night, the chamber in which his enemy was confined; he beheld him released from his chain, and stretched on his gaoler's bed in a profound slumber: Leo was alarmed at these signs of security and intelligence; but, though he

he retired with silent steps, his entrance and departure were noticed by a slave who lay concealed in a corner of the prison. Under the pretence of requesting the spiritual aid of a confessor, Michael informed the conspirators, that their lives depended on his discretion, and that a few hours were left to assure their own safety, by the deliverance of their friend and country. On the great festivals, a chosen band of priests and chanters was admitted into the palace, by a private gate, to sing matins in the chapel; and Leo, who regulated with the same strictness the discipline of the choir and of the camp, was seldom absent from those early devotions. In the ecclesiastical habit, but with swords under their robes, the conspirators mingled with the procession, lurked in the angles of the chapel, and expected, as the signal of murder, the intonation of the first psalm by the emperor himself. The imperfect light, and the uniformity of dress, might have favoured his escape, while their assault was pointed against an harmless priest; but they soon discovered their mistake, and encompassed on all sides the royal victim. Without a weapon, and without a friend, he grasped a weighty cross, and stood at bay against the hunters of his life; but as he asked for mercy, "This is the hour, not of mercy, but of vengeance," was the inexorable reply. The stroke of a well-aimed sword separated from his body the right arm and the cross, and Leo the Armenian was slain at the foot of the altar.

C H A P. A memorable reverse of fortune was displayed
 XLVIII. in Michael the second, who, from a defect in his
 — — — speech, was surnamed the Stammerer. He was
 Michael II. the snatched from the fiery furnace to the sovereignty
 Stammer- of an empire ; and as in the tumult a smith could
 er, not readily be found, the fetters remained on his
 A. D. 82), legs several hours after he was seated on the throne
 Dec. 25. of the Cæsars. The royal blood which had been
 the price of his elevation, was unprofitably spent :
 In the purple he retained the ignoble vices of his
 origin ; and Michael lost his provinces with as
 supine indifference as if they had been the inher-
 itance of his fathers. His title was disputed by
 Thomas, the last of the military triumvirate who
 transported into Europe fourscore thousand Barba-
 rians from the banks of the Tigris and the shores
 of the Caspian. He formed the siege of Constan-
 tinople ; but the capital was defended with spiritual
 and carnal weapons ; a Bulgarian king assaulted the
 camp of the Orientals, and Thomas had the mis-
 fortune, or the weakness, to fall alive into the power
 of the conqueror. The hands and feet of the rebel
 were amputated ; he was placed on an ass, and,
 amidst the insults of the people, was led through
 the streets, which he sprinkled with his blood.
 The depravation of manners, as savage as they
 were corrupt, is marked by the presence of the
 emperor himself. Deaf to the lamentations of a
 fellow-soldier, he incessantly pressed the discovery
 of more accomplices, till his curiosity was checked
 by the question of an honest or guilty minister :
 “ Would

“ Would you give credit to an enemy, against
 “ the most faithful of your friends ?” After the
 death of his first wife, the emperor, at the request
 of the senate, drew from her monastery Euphrosyne,
 the daughter of Constantine the sixth. Her
 august birth might justify a stipulation in the
 marriage-contract, that her children should equally
 share the empire with their elder brother. But
 the nuptials of Michael and Euphrosyne were
 barren ; and she was content with the title of
 Mother of Theophilus, his son and successor.

C H A P.
 XLVIII.

Theophilus,
 A. D.
 829, October 8.

The character of Theophilus is a rare example
 in which religious zeal has allowed, and perhaps
 magnified, the virtues of an heretic and a persecutor.
 His valour was often felt by the enemies, and his
 justice by the subjects, of the monarchy ; but the
 valour of Theophilus was rash and fruitless, and
 his justice arbitrary and cruel. He displayed the
 banner of the Cross against the Saracens ; but his
 five expeditions were concluded by a signal overthrow ;
 Amorium, the native city of his ancestors, was levelled
 with the ground, and from his military toils, he
 derived only the surname of the Unfortunate. The
 wisdom of a sovereign is comprised in the institution
 of laws and the choice of magistrates, and while he
 seems without action, his civil government revolves
 round his centre with the silence and order of the
 planetary system. But the justice of Theophilus was
 fashioned on the model of the Oriental despots, who,
 in personal and irregular acts of authority, consult
 the reason or passion of the moment, without measuring
 the sentence

C H A P. sentence by the law or the penalty by the offence.

XLVIII.

A poor woman threw herself at the emperor's feet, to complain of a powerful neighbour, the brother of the empress, who had raised his palace-wall to such an inconvenient height, that her humble dwelling was excluded from light and air! On the proof of the fact, instead of granting, like an ordinary judge, sufficient or ample damages to the plaintiff, the sovereign adjudged to her use and benefit the palace and the ground. Nor was Theophilus content with this extravagant satisfaction: His zeal converted a civil trespass into a criminal act; and the unfortunate patrician was stripped and scourged in the public place of Constantinople. For some venial offences, some defect of equity or vigilance, the principal ministers, a præfect, a quæstor, a captain of the guards, were banished or mutilated, or scalded with boiling pitch, or burnt alive in the hippodrome; and as these dreadful examples might be the effects of error or caprice, they must have alienated from his service the best and wisest of the citizens. But the pride of the monarch was flattered in the exercise of power, or, as he thought, of virtue; and the people, safe in their obscurity, applauded the danger and debasement of their superiors. This extraordinary rigour was justified, in some measure, by its salutary consequences; since, after a scrutiny of seventeen days, not a complaint or abuse could be found in the court or city: And it might be alleged that the Greeks could be ruled only with a rod of iron, and that the public interest is the motive and
law

law of the supreme judge. Yet in the crime, or the suspicion, of treason, that judge is of all others the most credulous and partial. Theophilus might inflict a tardy vengeance on the assassins of Leo and the saviours of his father; but he enjoyed the fruits of their crime; and his jealous tyranny sacrificed a brother and a prince to the future safety of his life. A Persian of the race of the Sassanides died in poverty and exile at Constantinople, leaving an only son, the issue of a plebeian marriage. At the age of twelve years, the royal birth of Theophobus was revealed, and his merit was not unworthy of his birth. He was educated in the Byzantine palace, a Christian and a soldier; advanced with rapid steps in the career of fortune and glory; received the hand of the emperor's sister; and was promoted to the command of thirty thousand Persians, who, like his father, had fled from the Mahometan conquerors. These troops, doubly infected with mercenary and fanatic vices, were desirous of revolting against their benefactor, and erecting the standard of their native king; but the loyal Theophobus rejected their offers, disconcerted their schemes, and escaped from their hands to the camp or palace of his royal brother. A generous confidence might have secured a faithful and able guardian for his wife and his infant son, to whom Theophilus, in the flower of his age, was compelled to leave the inheritance of the empire. But his jealousy was exasperated by envy and disease; he feared the dangerous virtues which might either support or oppress their infancy and weakness; and the dying emperor demanded the head of

CHAP.
XLVIII.

C H A P. of the Persian prince. With savage delight, he
 XLVIII. recognised the familiar features of his brother :

“ Thou art no longer Theophobus,” he said ;
 and sinking on his couch, he added, with a
 faltering voice, “ Soon, too soon, I shall be no
 “ more Theophilus !”

The Russians, who have borrowed from the
 Greeks the greatest part of their civil and eccle-
 siastical policy, preserved, till the last century, a
 singular institution in the marriage of the Czar.
 They collected, not the virgins of every rank and
 of every province, a vain and romantic idea, but
 the daughters of the principal nobles, who awaited
 in the palace the choice of their sovereign. It is
 affirmed, that a similar method was adopted in the
 nuptials of Theophilus. With a golden apple in
 his hand, he slowly walked between two lines of
 contending beauties; his eye was detained by the
 charms of Icasia, and, in the awkwardness of a first
 declaration, the prince could only observe, that, in
 this world, women had been the cause of much
 evil: “ And surely, Sir,” she pertly replied, “ they
 “ have likewise been the occasion of much good.”
 This affectation of unseasonable wit displeased the
 Imperial lover; he turned aside in disgust; Icasia
 concealed her mortification in a convent; and the
 modest silence of Theodora was rewarded with the
 golden apple. She deserved the love, but did not
 escape the severity of her lord. From the palace
 garden he beheld a vessel deeply laden, and steering
 into the port; on the discovery that the precious
 cargo of Syrian luxury was the property of his wife,
 he condemned the ship to the flames, with a sharp
 reproach,

reproach, that her avarice had degraded the character of an empress into that of a merchant. Yet his last choice entrusted her with the guardianship of the empire and her son Michael, who was left an orphan in the fifth year of his age. The restoration of images, and the final extirpation of the Iconoclasts, has endeared her name to the devotion of the Greeks; but in the fervour of religious zeal, Theodora entertained a grateful regard for the memory and salvation of her husband. After thirteen years of a prudent and frugal administration, she perceived the decline of her influence; but the second Irene imitated only the virtues of her predecessor. Instead of conspiring against the life or government of her son, she retired, without a struggle, though not without a murmur, to the solitude of private life, deploring the ingratitude, the vices, and the inevitable ruin, of the worthless youth.

C H A P.
XLVIII.

Michael
III.
A. D. 842,
January
20.

Among the successors of Nero Elagabalus, we have not hitherto found the imitation of their vices, the character of a Roman prince who considered pleasure as the object of life, and virtue as the enemy of pleasure. Whatever might have been the maternal care of Theodora in the education of Michael the third, her unfortunate son was a king before he was a man. If the ambitious mother laboured to check the progress of reason, she could not cool the ebullition of passion; and her selfish policy was justly repaid by the contempt and ingratitude of the headstrong youth. At the age of eighteen, he rejected her authority, without feeling

C H A P. feeling his own incapacity to govern the empire and
XLVIII. himself. With Theodora, all gravity and wisdom
retired from the court ; their place was supplied
by the alternate dominion of vice and folly ; and it
was impossible, without forfeiting the public esteem,
to acquire or preserve the favour of the emperor.
The millions of gold and silver which had been
accumulated for the service of the state, were lavished
on the vilest of men, who flattered his passions
and shared his pleasures ; and in a reign of thirteen
years, the richest of sovereigns was compelled to
strip the palace and the churches of their precious
furniture. Like Nero, he delighted in the
amusements of the theatre, and sighed to be surpassed
in the accomplishments, in which he should
have blushed to excel. Yet the studies of Nero
in music and poetry betrayed some symptoms of
a liberal taste ; the more ignoble arts of the son of
Theophilus were confined to the chariot-race of
the hippodrome. The four factions which had
agitated the peace, still amused the idleness of the
capital : For himself, the emperor assumed the blue
livery ; the three rival colours were distributed to
his favourites, and in the vile, though eager contention,
he forgot the dignity of his person and the
safety of his dominions. He silenced the messenger
of an invasion, who presumed to divert his attention
in the most critical moment of the race ; and by
his command, the importunate beacons were extinguished,
that too frequently spread the alarm from Tarsus to Constantinople. The most skilful
charioteers obtained the first place in his confidence
and

and esteem ; their merit was profusely rewarded ; C H A P. the emperor feasted in their houses, and presented XLVIII. their children at the baptismal font ; and while he
applauded his own popularity, he affected to blame the cold and stately reserve of his predecessors. The unnatural lusts which had degraded even the manhood of Nero, were banished from the world ; yet the strength of Michael was consumed by the indulgence of love and intemperance. In his midnight revels, when his passions were inflamed by wine, he was provoked to issue the most sanguinary commands ; and if any feelings of humanity were left, he was reduced, with the return of sense, to approve the salutary disobedience of his servants. But the most extraordinary feature in the character of Michael, is the profane mockery of the religion of his country. The superstition of the Greeks might, indeed, excite the smile of a philosopher ; but his smile would have been rational and temperate, and he must have condemned the ignorant folly of a youth, who insulted the objects of public veneration. A buffoon of the court was invested in the robes of the patriarch ; his twelve metropolitans, among whom the emperor was ranked, assumed their ecclesiastical garments ; they used or abused the sacred vessels of the altar ; and in their bacchanalian feasts, the holy communion was administered in a nauseous compound of vinegar and mustard. Nor were these impious spectacles concealed from the eyes of the city. On the day of a solemn festival, the emperor, with his bishops or buffoons, rode on asses through the streets, encountered the true patriarch
at

C H A P. at the head of his clergy; and by their licentious
XLVIII. shouts and obscene gestures, disordered the gravity of the Christian procession. The devotion of Michael appeared only in some offence to reason or piety: He received his theatrical crowns from the statue of the Virgin; and an Imperial tomb was violated for the sake of burning the bones of Constantine the Iconoclast. By this extravagant conduct, the son of Theophilus became as contemptible as he was odious: Every citizen was impatient for the deliverance of his country; and even the favourites of the moment were apprehensive that a caprice might snatch away what a caprice had bestowed. In the thirtieth year of his age, and in the hour of intoxication and sleep, Michael the third was murdered in his chamber, by the founder of a new dynasty, whom the emperor had raised to an equality of rank and power.

Basil I.
the Macedonian,
A.D. 867,
Sept. 24.


The genealogy of Basil the Macedonian (if it be not the spurious offspring of pride and flattery) exhibits a genuine picture of the revolution of the most illustrious families. The Arsacides, the rivals of Rome, possessed the sceptre of the East near four hundred years: A younger branch of these Parthian kings continued to reign in Armenia; and their royal descendants survived the partition and servitude of that ancient monarchy. Two of these, Artabanus and Chlienes, escaped or retired to the court of Leo the first: His bounty seated them in a safe and hospitable exile, in the province of Macedonia: Adrianople was their final settlement. During several generations, they maintained the

the dignity of their birth ; and their Roman patriotism rejected the tempting offers of the Persian and Arabian powers, who recalled them to their native country. But their splendour was insensibly clouded by time and poverty ; and the father of Basil was reduced to a small farm, which he cultivated with his own hands : Yet he scorned to disgrace the blood of the Arsacides by a plebeian alliance : His wife, a widow of Adrianople, was pleased to count among her ancestors, the great Constantine ; and their royal infant was connected by some dark affinity of lineage or country with the Macedonian Alexander. No sooner was he born, than the cradle of Basil, his family, and his city, were swept away by an inundation of the Bulgarians : He was educated a slave in a foreign land ; and in this severe discipline, he acquired the hardiness of body and flexibility of mind which promoted his future elevation. In the age of youth or manhood he shared the deliverance of the Roman captives, who generously broke their fetters, marched through Bulgaria to the shores of the Euxine, defeated two armies of Barbarians, embarked in the ships which had been stationed for their reception, and returned to Constantinople, from whence they were distributed to their respective homes. But the freedom of Basil was naked and destitute : His farm was ruined by the calamities of war : After his father's death, his manual labour, or service, could no longer support a family of orphans ; and he resolved to seek a more conspicuous theatre, in which every virtue and every vice may lead to the paths

C H A P. of greatness. The first night of his arrival at Constantinople, without friends or money, the weary pilgrim slept on the steps of the church of St Diomedes: He was fed by the casual hospitality of a monk; and was introduced to the service of a cousin and namesake of the emperor Theophilus; who, though himself of a diminutive person, was always followed by a train of tall and handsome domestics. Basil attended his patron to the government of Peloponnesus; eclipsed, by his personal merit, the birth and dignity of Theophilus, and formed an useful connection with a wealthy and charitable matron of Patras. Her spiritual or carnal love embraced the young adventurer, whom she adopted as her son. Danielis presented him with thirty slaves; and the produce of her bounty was expended in the support of his brothers, and the purchase of some large estates in Macedonia. His gratitude or ambition still attached him to the service of Theophilus; and a lucky accident recommended him to the notice of the court. A famous wrestler, in the train of the Bulgarian ambassadors, had defied, at the royal banquet, the boldest and most robust of the Greeks. The strength of Basil was praised; he accepted the challenge; and the Barbarian champion was overthrown at the first onset. A beautiful but vicious horse was condemned to be hamstrung: It was subdued by the dexterity and courage of the servant of Theophilus; and his conqueror was promoted to an honourable rank in the Imperial stables. But it was impossible to obtain the confidence of Michael, without complying

plying with his vices ; and his new favourite, the great chamberlain of the palace, was raised and supported by a disgraceful marriage with a royal concubine, and the dishonour of his sister, who succeeded to her place. The public administration had been abandoned to the Cæsar Bardas, the brother and enemy of Theodora ; but the arts of female influence persuaded Michael to hate and to fear his uncle ; he was drawn from Constantinople, under the pretext of a Cretan expedition, and stabbed in the tent of audience, by the sword of the chamberlain, and in the presence of the emperor. About a month after this execution, Basil was invested with the title of Augustus and the government of the empire. He supported this unequal association till his influence was fortified by popular esteem. His life was endangered by the caprice of the emperor ; and his dignity was profaned by a second colleague, who had rowed in the galleys. Yet the murder of his benefactor must be condemned as an act of ingratitude and treason ; and the churches which he dedicated to the name of St Michael were a poor and puerile expiation of his guilt.

The different ages of Basil the first may be compared with those of Augustus. The situation of the Greek did not allow him in his earliest youth to lead an army against his country, or to proscribe the noblest of her sons ; but his aspiring genius stooped to the arts of a slave ; he dissembled his ambition and even his virtues, and grasped with the bloody hand of an assassin, the

CHAP. empire which he ruled with the wisdom and tenderness of a parent. A private citizen may feel
XLVIII.  his interest repugnant to his duty ; but it must be from a deficiency of sense or courage, that an absolute monarch can separate his happiness from his glory, or his glory from the public welfare. The life or panegyric of Basil has, indeed, been composed and published under the long reign of his descendants ; but even their stability on the throne may be justly ascribed to the superior merit of their ancestor. In his character, his grandson Constantine has attempted to delineate a perfect image of royalty ; but that feeble prince, unless he had copied a real model, could not easily have soared so high above the level of his own conduct or conceptions. But the most solid praise of Basil is drawn from the comparison of a ruined and a flourishing monarchy, that which he wrested from the dissolute Michael, and that which he bequeathed to the Macedonian dynasty. The evils which had been sanctified by time and example, were corrected by his master-hand ; and he revived, if not the national spirit, at least the order and majesty of the Roman empire. His application was indefatigable, his temper cool, his understanding vigorous and decisive ; and in his practice he observed that rare and salutary moderation, which pursues each virtue, at an equal distance between the opposite vices. His military service had been confined to the palace ; nor was the emperor endowed with the spirit or the talents of a warrior. Yet under his reign the Roman arms were again formidable to the Barbarians.

barians. As soon as he had formed a new army C H A P.
by discipline and exercise, he appeared in person XLVIII.
on the banks of the Euphrates; curbed the pride of
the Saracens, and suppressed the dangerous though
just revolt of the Manichæans. His indignation
against a rebel who had long eluded his pursuit,
provoked him to wish and to pray, that, by the
grace of God, he might drive three arrows into
the head of Chrysochir. That odious head, which
had been obtained by treason rather than by va-
lour, was suspended from a tree, and thrice ex-
posed to the dexterity of the Imperial archer : A
base revenge against the dead, more worthy of the
times, than of the character of Basil. But his
principal merit was in the civil administration of
the finances and of the laws. To replenish an
exhausted treasury, it was proposed to resume the
lavish and ill-placed gifts of his predecessor : His
prudence abated one moiety of the restitution ;
and a sum of twelve hundred thousand pounds
was instantly procured to answer the most pressing
demands, and to allow some space for the mature
operations of œconomy. Among the various
schemes for the improvement of the revenue, a
new mode was suggested of capitation, or tribute,
which would have too much depended on the ar-
bitrary discretion of the assessors. A sufficient list
of honest and able agents was instantly produced
by the minister ; but on the more careful scrutiny
of Basil himself, only two could be found, who
might be safely entrusted with such dangerous
powers ; and they justified his esteem by declin-
ing his confidence. But the serious and success-

CHAP. full diligence of the emperor established by de-
 XLVIII. grees an equitable balance of property and pay-
 ment, of receipt and expenditure ; a peculiar fund
 was appropriated to each service ; and a public
 method secured the interest of the prince and the
 property of the people. After reforming the
 luxury, he assigned two patrimonial estates to sup-
 ply the decent plenty of the Imperial table ; The
 contributions of the subject were reserved for his
 defence ; and the residue was employed in the
 embellishment of the capital and provinces. A
 taste for building, however costly, may deserve
 some praise and much excuse ; from thence indus-
 try is fed, art is encouraged, and some object is at-
 tained of public emolument or pleasure : The use
 of a road, an aqueduct, or an hospital, is obvious
 and solid ; and the hundred churches that arose
 by the command of Basil, were consecrated to the
 devotion of the age. In the character of a judge,
 he was assiduous and impartial ; desirous to save,
 but not afraid to strike : The oppressors of the
 people were severely chastised ; but his personal
 foes, whom it might be unsafe to pardon, were
 condemned, after the loss of their eyes, to a life
 of solitude and repentance. The change of lan-
 guage and manners demanded a revision of the
 obsolete jurisprudence of Justinian : The volu-
 minous body of his Institutes, Pandects, Code,
 and Novels, was digested under forty titles, in the
 Greek idiom ; and the *Basilics*, which were im-
 proved and completed by his son and grandson,
 must be referred to the original genius of the
 founder of their race. This glorious reign was
 terminated

terminated by an accident in the chase. A furious stag entangled his horns in the belt of Basil, and raised him from his horse: He was rescued by an attendant, who cut the belt and slew the animal; but the fall, or the fever, exhausted the strength of the aged monarch, and he expired in the palace, amidst the tears of his family and people. If he struck off the head of the faithful servant, for presuming to draw his sword against his sovereign; the pride of despotism, which had lain dormant in his life, revived in the last moments of despair, when he no longer wanted or valued the opinion of mankind.

Of the four sons of the emperor, Constantine died before his father, whose grief and credulity were amused by a flattering impostor and a vain apparition. Stephen, the youngest, was content with the honours of a patriarch and a saint; both Leo and Alexander were alike invested with the purple, but the powers of government were solely exercised by the elder brother. The name of Leo VI. has been dignified with the title of *philosopher*; and the union of the prince and the sage, of the active and speculative virtues, would indeed constitute the perfection of human nature. But the claims of Leo are far short of this ideal excellence. Did he reduce his passions and appetites under the dominion of reason? His life was spent in the pomp of the palace, in the society of his wives and concubines; and even the clemency which he shewed, and the peace which he strove to preserve, must be imputed to the softness and indolence of his character. Did he

CHAP.
XLVIII.

Leo VI.
the Philosopher.
A. D. 686,
March 1.

C H A P. subdue his prejudices, and those of his subjects?

XLVIII. His mind was tinged with the most puerile superstition; the influence of the clergy, and the errors of the people, were consecrated by his laws; and the oracles of Leo, which reveal, in prophetic stile, the fates of the empire, are founded on the arts of astrology and divination. If we still inquire the reason of his sage appellation, it can only be replied, that the son of Basil was less ignorant than the greater part of his contemporaries in church and state; that his education had been directed by the learned Photius; and that several books of profane and ecclesiastical science were composed by the pen, or in the name, of the Imperial *philosopher*. But the reputation of his philosophy and religion was overthrown by a domestic vice, the repetition of his nuptials. The primitive ideas of the merit and holiness of celibacy were preached by the monks, and entertained by the Greeks. Marriage was allowed as a necessary means for the propagation of mankind; after the death of either party, the survivor might satisfy, by a *second* union, the weakness or the strength of the flesh: But a *third* marriage was censured as a state of legal fornication; and a *fourth* was a sin or scandal as yet unknown to the Christians of the East. In the beginning of his reign, Leo himself had abolished the state of concubines, and condemned, without annulling, third marriages; but his patriotism and love soon compelled him to violate his own laws, and to incur the penance, which, in a similar case, he had imposed on his subjects. In his three first alliances, his nuptial
bed

bed was unfruitful; the emperor required a female companion, and the empire a legitimate heir. The beautiful Zoe was introduced into the palace as a concubine; and after a trial of her fecundity, and the birth of Constantine, her lover declared his intention of legitimating the mother and the child, by the celebration of his fourth nuptials. But the patriarch Nicholas refused his blessing: The Imperial baptism of the young prince was obtained by a promise of separation; and the contumacious husband of Zoe was excluded from the communion of the faithful. Neither the fear of exile, nor the desertion of his brethren, nor the authority of the Latin church, nor the danger of failure or doubt in the succession to the empire, could bend the spirit of the inflexible monk. After the death of Leo, he was recalled from exile to the civil and ecclesiastical administration; and the edict of union which was promulgated in the name of Constantine, condemned the future scandal of fourth marriages, and left a tacit imputation on his own birth.

In the Greek language *purple* and *porphyry* are the same word: And as the colours of nature are invariable, we may learn, that a dark deep red was the Tyrian dye which stained the purple of the ancients. An apartment of the Byzantine palace was lined with porphyry: It was reserved for the use of the pregnant empresses; and the royal birth of their children was expressed by the appellation of *porphyrogenite*, or born in the purple. Several of the Roman princes had been blessed

with

CHAP.
XLVIII.

Alexander, Constantine VII. Porphyrogenitus, A. D. 911, May 11.

CHAP. with an heir ; but this peculiar surname was first
XLVIII. applied to Constantine the seventh. His life and
 titular reign were of equal duration ; but of fifty-
 four years, six had elapsed before his father's death ;
 and the son of Leo was ever the voluntary or re-
 luctant subject of those who oppressed his weak-
 ness or abused his confidence. His uncle Alex-
 ander, who had long been invested with the title of
 Augustus, was the first colleague and governor of
 the young prince : But in a rapid career of vice
 and folly, the brother of Leo already emulated
 the reputation of Michael ; and when he was ex-
 tinguished by a timely death, he entertained a
 project of castrating his nephew, and leaving the
 empire to a worthless favourite. The succeeding
 years of the minority of Constantine were occu-
 pied by his mother Zoe, and a succession of coun-
 cil of seven regents, who pursued their interest,
 gratified their passions, abandoned the republic,
 supplanted each other, and finally vanished in the
 presence of a soldier. From an obscure origin,
 Romanus Lecapenus had raised himself to the
 command of the naval armies ; and in the anarchy
 of the times, had deserved, or at least had obtained,
 the national esteem. With a victorious and af-
 fectionate fleet, he sailed from the mouth of the
 Danube into the harbour of Constantinople, and
 was hailed as the deliverer of the people, and the
 guardian of the prince. His supreme office was
 at first defined by the new appellation of father of
 the emperor ; but Romanus soon disdained the
 subordinate powers of a minister, and assumed,
 with the titles of Cæsar and Augustus, the full
 independence

Romanus
 I. Lecapenus,
 A. D. 919,
 Dec. 24.

independence of royalty, which he held near five and twenty years. His three sons, Christopher, Stephen, and Constantine, were successively adorned with the same honours, and the lawful emperor was degraded from the first to the fifth rank in this college of princes. Yet, in the preservation of his life and crown, he might still applaud his own fortune and the clemency of the usurper. The examples of ancient and modern history would have excused the ambition of Romanus: The powers and the laws of the empire were in his hand; the spurious birth of Constantine would have justified his exclusion; and the grave or the monastery was open to receive the son of the concubine. But Lecapenus does not appear to have possessed either the virtues or the vices of a tyrant. The spirit and activity of his private life dissolved away in the sunshine of the throne; and in his licentious pleasures, he forgot the safety both of the republic and of his family. Of a mild and religious character, he respected the sanctity of oaths, the innocence of the youth, the memory of his parents, and the attachment of the people. The studious temper and retirement of Constantine disarmed the jealousy of power; his books and music, his pen and his pencil, were a constant source of amusement; and if he could improve a scanty allowance by the sale of his pictures, if their price was not enhanced by the name of the artist, he was endowed with a personal talent, which few princes could employ in the hour of adversity,

C H A P.
XLVIII.
—
Christo-
pher, Ste-
phen.
Constan-
tine VIII.

The

CHAP. The fall of Romanus was occasioned by his
 XLVIII. own vices and those of his children. After the
 { deace of Christopher, his eldest son, the two
 Constantine VII. surviving brothers quarrelled with each other, and
 A. D. 945, conspired against their father. At the hour of
 Jan. 27. noon, when all strangers were regularly excluded
 from the palace, they entered his apartment with
 an armed force, and conveyed him, in the habit of
 a monk, to a small island in the Propontis, which
 was peopled by a religious community. The ru-
 mour of this domestic revolution excited a tumult
 in the city ; but Porphyrogenitus alone, the true
 and lawful emperor, was the object of the public
 care ; and the sons of Lecapenus were taught, by
 tardy experience, that they had atchieved a guilty
 and perilous enterprise for the benefit of their rival.
 Their sister Helena, the wife of Constantine, re-
 vealed, or supposed, their treacherous design of
 assassinating her husband at the royal banquet.
 His loyal adherents were alarmed ; and the two
 usurpers were prevented, seized, degraded from
 the purple, and embarked for the same island and
 monastery where their father had been so lately
 confined. Old Romanus met them on the beach
 with a sarcastic smile, and, after a just reproach
 of their folly and ingratitude, presented his Imperial
 colleagues with an equal share of his water and
 vegetable diet. In the fortieth year of his reign,
 Constantine the seventh obtained the possession
 of the Eastern world, which he ruled, or seemed
 to rule, near fifteen years. But he was devoid of
 that energy of character which could emerge into a
 life

life of action and glory ; and the studies which had amused and dignified his leisure, were incompatible with the serious duties of a sovereign. The emperor neglected the practice, to instruct his son Romanus in the theory of government ; while he indulged the habits of intemperance and sloth, he dropt the reins of the administration into the hands of Helena his wife ; and, in the shifting scene of her favour and caprice, each minister was regretted in the promotion of a more worthless successor. Yet the birth and misfortunes of Constantine had endeared him to the Greeks ; they excused his failings ; they respected his learning, his innocence, his charity, and his love of justice ; and the ceremony of his funeral was mourned with the unfeigned tears of his subjects. The body, according to ancient custom, lay in state in the vestibule of the palace ; and the civil and military officers, the patricians, the senate, and the clergy, approached in due order to adore and kiss the inanimate corpse of their sovereign. Before the procession moved towards the Imperial sepulchre, an herald proclaimed this awful admonition : “ Arise, O king of the world, and obey the “ summons of the King of kings !”

The death of Constantine was imputed to poison ; and his son Romanus, who derived that name from his maternal grandfather, ascended the throne of Constantinople. A prince who, at the age of twenty, could be suspected of anticipating his inheritance, must have been already lost in the public esteem ; yet Romanus was rather weak than wicked ; and the largest share of the guilt

was

C H A P.
XLVIII.

Romanus
II. junior,
A.D. 950,
Nov. 15.

C H A P. was transferred to his wife, Theophano, a woman
XLVIII. of base origin, masculine spirit, and flagitious
 manners. The sense of personal glory and public happiness, the true pleasures of royalty, were unknown to the son of Constantine ; and while the two brothers, Nicephorus and Leo, triumphed over the Saracens, the hours which the emperor owed to his people were consumed in strenuous idleness. In the morning he visited the circus ; at noon he feasted the senators ; the greater part of the afternoon he spent in the *sphæristerium*, or tennis-court, the only theatre of his victories ; from thence he passed over to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, hunted and killed four wild boars of the largest size, and returned to the palace, proudly content with the labours of the day. In strength and beauty he was conspicuous above his equals : Tall and straight as a young cypress, his complexion was fair and florid, his eyes sparkling, his shoulders broad, his nose long and aquiline. Yet even these perfections were insufficient to fix the love of Theophano ; and, after a reign of four years, she mingled for her husband the same deadly draught which she had composed for his father.

Nicephorus II.
 Phocas,
 A.D. 963,
 August 6.

By his marriage with this impious woman, Romanus the younger left two sons, Basil the second and Constantine the ninth, and two daughters, Theophano and Anne. The eldest sister was given to Otho the second, emperor of the West ; the younger became the wife of Wolodomir, great duke and apostle of Russia, and, by the marriage of her grand-daughter with Henry the first, king
 of

of France, the blood of the Macedonians, and perhaps of the Arsacides, still flows in the veins of the Bourbon line. After the death of her husband, the empress aspired to reign in the name of her sons, the elder of whom was five, and the younger only two years of age; but she soon felt the instability of a throne, which was supported by a female who could not be esteemed, and two infants who could not be feared. Theophano looked around for a protector, and threw herself into the arms of the bravest soldier; her heart was capricious; but the deformity of the new favourite rendered it more than probable that interest was the motive and excuse of her love. Nicephorus Phocas united, in the popular opinion, the double merit of an hero and a saint. In the former character, his qualifications were genuine and splendid: The descendant of a race, illustrious by their military exploits, he had displayed, in every station and in every province, the courage of a soldier and the conduct of a chief; and Nicephorus was crowned with recent laurels, from the important conquest of the isle of Crete. His religion was of a more ambiguous cast; and his hair-cloth, his fasts, his pious idiom, and his wish to retire from the business of the world, were a convenient mask for his dark and dangerous ambition. Yet he imposed on an holy patriarch, by whose influence, and by a decree of the senate, he was entrusted, during the minority of the young princes, with the absolute and independent command of the Oriental armies. As

soon

C H A P. soon as he had secured the leaders and the troops,
XLVIII. he boldly marched to Constantinople, trampled
on his enemies, avowed his correspondence with the empress, and, without degrading her sons, assumed with the title of Augustus, the pre-eminence of rank and the plenitude of power. But his marriage with Theophano was refused by the same patriarch who had placed the crown on his head: By his second nuptials he incurred a year of canonical penance; a bar of spiritual affinity was opposed to their celebration; and some evasion and perjury were required to silence the scruples of the clergy and people. The popularity of the emperor was lost in the purple: In a reign of six years he provoked the hatred of strangers and subjects; and the hypocrisy and avarice of the first Nicephorus were revived in his successor. Hypocrisy I shall never justify or palliate; but I will dare to observe, that the odious vice of avarice is of all others most hastily arraigned, and most unmercifully condemned. In a private citizen, our judgment seldom expects an accurate scrutiny into his fortune and expence; and in a steward of the public treasure, frugality is always a virtue, and the increase of taxes too often an indispensable duty. In the use of his patrimony, the generous temper of Nicephorus had been proved; and the revenue was strictly applied to the service of the state: Each spring the emperor marched in person against the Saracens; and every Roman might compute the employment of his taxes in triumphs, conquests, and the security of the Eastern barrier.

Among

Among the warriors who promoted his elevation, and served under his standard, a noble and valiant Armenian had deserved and obtained the most eminent rewards. The stature of John Zimisces was below the ordinary standard; but this diminutive body was endowed with strength, beauty, and the soul of an hero. By the jealousy of the emperor's brother, he was degraded from the office of general of the East, to that of director of the posts, and his murmurs were chastised with disgrace and exile. But Zimisces was ranked among the numerous lovers of the empress; on her intercession, he was permitted to reside at Chalcedon, in the neighbourhood of the capital: Her bounty was repaid in his clandestine and amorous visits to the palace; and Theophano consented with alacrity to the death of an ugly and penurious husband. Some bold and trusty conspirators were concealed in her most private chambers; in the darkness of a winter night, Zimisces, with his principal companions, embarked in a small boat, traversed the Bosphorus, landed at the palace stairs, and silently ascended a ladder of ropes, which was cast down by the female attendants. Neither his own suspicions, nor the warnings of his friends, nor the tardy aid of his brother Leo, nor the fortress which he had erected in the palace, could protect Nicephorus from a domestic foe, at whose voice every door was opened to the assassins. As he slept on a bearskin, on the ground, he was roused by their noisy intrusion, and thirty daggers glittered before his

C H A P.
XLVIII.

John Zimisces,
Basil II.
Constantine IX.
A. D. 969,
Dec. 25.

C H A P. eyes. It is doubtful whether Zimisces imbrued
XLVIII. his hands in the blood of his sovereign; but he enjoyed the inhuman spectacle of revenge. The murder was protracted by insult and cruelty; and as soon as the head of Nicephorus was shewn from the window, the tumult was hushed, and the Armenian was emperor of the East. On the day of his coronation, he was stopped on the threshold of St Sophia, by the intrepid patriarch; who charged his conscience with the deed of treason and blood; and required, as a sign of repentance, that he should separate himself from his more criminal associate. This sally of apostolic zeal was not offensive to the prince, since he could neither love nor trust a woman who had repeatedly violated the most sacred obligations; and Theophano, instead of sharing his Imperial fortune, was dismissed with ignominy from his bed and palace. In their last interview, she displayed a frantic and impotent rage; accused the ingratitude of her lover; assaulted with words and blows her son Basil, as he stood silent and submissive in the presence of a superior colleague; and avowed her own prostitution, in proclaiming the illegitimacy of his birth. The public indignation was appeased by her exile, and the punishment of the meaner accomplices: The death of an unpopular prince was forgiven; and the guilt of Zimisces was forgotten in the splendour of his virtues. Perhaps his profusion was less useful to the state than the avarice of Nicephorus; but his gentle and generous behaviour delighted all who approached his person; and it was only in the paths of victory that he trod in the footsteps of his predecessor.

predecessors. The greatest part of his reign was employed in the camp and the field: His personal valour and activity was signalized on the Danube and the Tigris, the ancient boundaries of the Roman world; and by his double triumph over the Russians and the Saracens, he deserved the titles of saviour of the empire, and conqueror of the East. In his last return from Syria, he observed that the most fruitful lands of his new provinces were possessed by the eunuchs. "And is it for them," he exclaimed, with honest indignation, "that we have fought and conquered? Is it for them that we shed our blood, and exhaust the treasures of our people?" The complaint was re-echoed to the palace, and the death of Zimisces is strongly marked with the suspicion of poison.

Under this usurpation, or regency, of twelve years, the two lawful emperors, Basil and Constantine, had silently grown to the age of manhood. Their tender years had been incapable of dominion: The respectful modesty of their attendance and salutation, was due to the age and merit of their guardians: The childless ambition of those guardians had no temptation to violate their right of succession: Their patrimony was ably and faithfully administered; and the premature death of Zimisces was a loss, rather than a benefit, to the sons of Romanus. Their want of experience detained them twelve years longer the obscure and voluntary pupils of a minister, who extended his reign by persuading them to indulge the pleasures of youth, and to disdain the labours of government. In this silken web, the weakness of Constantine

C H A P.

XLVIII.

Basil II.
and Con-
stantine
IX.A. D. 976,
Jan. 10.

G H A P. was for ever entangled: But his elder brother felt
 XLVIII. the impulse of genius and the desire of action ;
 he frowned, and the minister was no more. Basil
 was the acknowledged sovereign of Constantinople
 and the provinces of Europe ; but Asia was op-
 pressed by two veteran generals, Phocas and Scle-
 rus, who alternately friends and enemies, subjects
 and rebels, maintained their independence, and la-
 boured to emulate the example of successful usur-
 pation. Against these domestic enemies, the son
 of Romanus first drew his sword, and they trem-
 bled in the presence of a lawful and high-spirited
 prince. The first, in the front of battle, was thrown
 from his horse, by the stroke of poison, or an ar-
 row: The second, who had been twice loaded with
 chains, and twice invested with the purple, was
 desirous of ending in peace the small remainder
 of his days. As the aged suppliant approached
 the throne, with dim eyes and faltering steps,
 leaning on his two attendants, the emperor exclaim-
 ed, in the insolence of youth and power, “ And
 “ is this the man who has so long been the object
 “ of our terror?” After he had confirmed his
 own authority, and the peace of the empire, the
 trophies of Nicephorus and Zimisces would not
 suffer their royal pupil to sleep in the palace. His
 long and frequent expeditions against the Saracens
 were rather glorious than useful to the empire ;
 but the final destruction of the kingdom of Bul-
 garia appears, since the time of Belisarius, the
 most important triumph of the Roman arms. Yet
 instead of applauding their victorious prince, his
 subjects detested the rapacious and rigid avarice
 of

of Basil; and in the imperfect narrative of his exploits, we can only discern the courage, patience, and ferociousness of a soldier. A vicious education, which could not subdue his spirit, had clouded his mind; he was ignorant of every science; and the remembrance of his learned and feeble grandsire might encourage a real or affected contempt of laws and lawyers, of artists and arts. Of such a character, in such an age, superstition took a firm and lasting possession; after the first licence of his youth, Basil the second devoted his life, in the palace and the camp, to the penance of an hermit, wore the monastic habit under his robes and armour, observed a vow of continence, and imposed on his appetites a perpetual abstinence from wine and flesh. In the sixty-eighth year of his age, his martial spirit urged him to embark in person for a holy war against the Saracens of Sicily; he was prevented by death, and Basil, surnamed the Slayer of the Bulgarians, was dismissed from the world, with the blessings of the clergy and the curses of the people. After his decease, his brother Constantine enjoyed, about three years, the power, or rather the pleasures, of royalty; and his only care was the settlement of the succession. He had enjoyed, sixty-six years, the title of Augustus; and the reign of the two brothers is the longest, and most obscure of the Byzantine history.

CHAP.
XLVIII.

Constantine IX.
A. D.
1025. December.

A lineal succession of five emperors, in a period of one hundred and sixty years, had attached the loyalty of the Greeks to the Macedonian dynasty, which had been thrice respected by the usurpers of their power. After the death of Constantine

Romanus III. Argyrus,
A. D.
1028.
Nov. 12,

CHAP. IX. the last male of the royal race, a new and
XLVIII. broken scene presents itself, and the accumulated
years of twelve emperors do not equal the space
of his single reign. His elder brother had preferred his private chastity to the public interest, and Constantine himself had only three daughters; Eudocia, who took the veil, and Zoe and Theodora, who were preserved till a mature age in a state of ignorance and virginity. When their marriage was discussed in council of their dying father, the cold or pious Theodora refused to give an heir to the empire, but her sister Zoe presented herself a willing victim at the altar. Romanus Argyrus, a patrician of a graceful person and fair reputation, was chosen for her husband, and, on his declining that honour, was informed, that blindness or death was the second alternative. The motive of his reluctance was conjugal affection, but his faithful wife sacrificed her own happiness to his safety and greatness; and her entrance into a monastery removed the only bar to the Imperial nuptials. After the decease of Constantine, the sceptre devolved to Romanus the third; but his labours at home and abroad were equally feeble and fruitless; and the mature age, the forty-eight years of Zoe, were less favourable to the hopes of pregnancy than to the indulgence of pleasure. Her favourite chamberlain was an handsome Paphlagonian of the name of Michael, whose first trade had been that of a money-changer; and Romanus, either from gratitude or equity, connived at their criminal intercourse, or accepted a slight assurance of their innocence. But Zoe soon justified the
Roman

Roman maxim, that every adultress is capable of poisoning her husband; and the death of Romanus was instantly followed by the scandalous marriage and elevation of Michael the fourth. The expectations of Zoe were however disappointed: Instead of a vigorous and grateful lover, she had placed in her bed, a miserable wretch, whose health and reason were impaired by epileptic fits, and whose conscience was tormented by despair and remorse. The most skilful physicians of the mind and body were summoned to his aid; and his hopes were amused by frequent pilgrimages to the baths, and to the tombs of the most popular saints; the monks applauded his penance, and, except restitution, (but to whom should he have restored?) Michael sought every method of expiating his guilt. While he groaned and prayed in sackcloth and ashes, his brother, the eunuch John, smiled at his remorse, and enjoyed the harvest of a crime of which himself was the secret and most guilty author. His administration was only the art of satiating his avarice, and Zoe became a captive in the palace of her fathers and in the hands of her slaves. When he perceived the irretrievable decline of his brother's health, he introduced his nephew, another Michael, who derived his surname of Calaphates from his father's occupation in the careening of vessels: At the command of the eunuch, Zoe adopted for her son, the son of a mechanic; and this fictitious heir was invested with the title and purple of the Cæsars, in the presence of the senate and clergy. So feeble was the character of Zoe, that she was oppressed

C H A P.
XLVIII.Michael
IV. the
Paphlago-
nian,
A. D.
1034.
April 11.

C H A P. pressed by the liberty and power which she recover-
 XLVIII. ed by the death of the Paphlagonian; and at the
 ————— end of four days, she placed the crown on the head
 of Michael the fifth, who had protested, with tears
 Michael and oaths, that he should ever reign the first and
 V. Calaphates, most obedient of her subjects. The only act of
 A. D. his short reign was his base ingratitude to his be-
 1041, nefactors, the eunuch and the empress. The dis-
 Dec. 14. grace of the former was pleasing to the public;
 but the murmurs, and at length the clamours, of
 Constantinople, deplored the exile of Zoe, the
 daughter of so many emperors; her vices were for-
 gotten, and Michael was taught, that there is a
 period in which the patience of the tamest slaves
 rises into fury and revenge. The citizens of every
 degree assembled in a formidable tumult, which
 lasted three days; they besieged the palace, forced
 the gates, recalled their *mothers*, Zoe from her
 Zoe and prison, Theodora from her monastery, and con-
 Theodora, demned the son of Calaphates to the loss of his
 A. D. eyes or of his life. For the first time, the Greeks
 1042, beheld with surprise the two royal sisters seated
 April 21. on the same throne, presiding in the senate, and
 giving audience to the ambassadors of the nations.
 But this singular union subsisted no more than
 two months; the two sovereigns, their tempers,
 interests, and adherents, were secretly hostile to
 each other; and as Theodora was still adverse to
 marriage, the indefatigable Zoe, at the age of
 sixty, consented, for the public good to sustain
 the embraces of a third husband, and the cen-
 sures of the Greek church. His name and num-
 ber were Constantine the tenth, and the epithet
 of

Constantine and Monomachus.

of *Monomachus*, the single combatant, must have been expressive of his valour and victory in some public or private quarrel. But his health was broken by the tortures of the gout, and his dissolute reign was spent in the alternative of sickness and pleasure. A fair and noble widow had accompanied Constantine in his exile to the isle of Lesbos, and Sclerena gloried in the appellation of his mistress. After his marriage and elevation, she was invested with the title and pomp of *Augusta*, and occupied a contiguous apartment in the palace. The lawful consort (such was the delicacy or corruption of *Zoe*) consented to this strange and scandalous partition; and the emperor appeared in public between his wife and his concubine. He survived them both; but the last measures of Constantine to change the order of succession were prevented by the more vigilant friends of *Theodora*; and after his decease, she resumed, with the general consent, the possession of her inheritance. In her name, and by the influence of four eunuchs, the Eastern world was peaceably governed about nineteen months; and as they wished to prolong their dominion, they persuaded the aged princess to nominate for her successor *Michael* the sixth. The surname of *Stratioticus* declares his military profession; but the crazy and decrepit veteran could only see with the eyes, and execute with the hands, of his ministers. Whilst he ascended the throne, *Theodora* sunk into the grave; the last of the Macedonian or Basilian dynasty. I have hastily reviewed, and gladly dismiss this shameful and destructive period of twenty-eight years, in which

the

C H A P.
XLVIII.

A. D.
1042,
June 11.

Theodora,
A. D.
1054,
Nov. 30.

Michael
VI. *Stratioticus*,
A. D.
1056,
Aug. 22.

C H A P. the Greeks, degraded below the common level of
 XLVIII. servitude, were transferred like a herd of cattle by
 the choice or caprice of two impotent females.

Isaac I.
 Comnenus, A.D.
 1057,
 Aug. 31.

From this night of slavery, a ray of freedom, or at least of spirit, begins to emerge: The Greeks either preserved or revived the use of surnames, which perpetuate the fame of hereditary virtue; and we now discern the rise, succession, and alliances of the last dynasties of Constantinople and Trebizond. The *Comneni*, who upheld for a while the fate of the sinking empire, assumed the honour of a Roman origin: But the family had been long since transported from Italy to Asia. Their patrimonial estate was situate in the district of Castamona in the neighbourhood of the Euxine; and one of their chiefs, who had already entered the paths of ambition, revisited with affection, perhaps with regret, the modest though honourable dwelling of his fathers. The first of their line was the illustrious Manuel, who, in the reign of the second Basil, contributed by war and treaty to appease the troubles of the East: He left in a tender age, two sons, Isaac and John, whom with the consciousness of desert, he bequeathed to the gratitude and favour of his sovereign. The noble youths were carefully trained in the learning of the monastery, the arts of the palace, and the exercises of the camp: And from the domestic service of the guards, they were rapidly promoted to the command of provinces and armies. Their fraternal union doubled the force and reputation of the Comneni, and their ancient nobility was illustrated by the marriage of the two brothers, with a captive princess

princess of Bulgaria, and the daughter of a patri- C H A P.
 cian, who had obtained the name of *Charon* from XLVIII.
 the number of enemies whom he had sent to the
 infernal shades. The soldiers had served with re-
 luctant loyalty a series of effeminate masters; the
 elevation of Michael the sixth was a personal in-
 sult to the more deserving generals; and their dis-
 content was inflamed by the parsimony of the em-
 peror and the insolence of the eunuchs. They se-
 cretly assembled in the sanctuary of St Sophia,
 and the votes of the military synod would have
 been unanimous in favour of the old and valiant
 Catacalon, if the patriotism or modesty of the ve-
 teran had not suggested the importance of birth as
 well as merit in the choice of a sovereign. Isaac
 Comnenus was approved by general consent, and
 the associates separated without delay to meet in
 the plains of Phrygia, at the head of their respec-
 tive squadrons and detachments. The cause of
 Michael was defended in a single battle by the
 mercenaries of the Imperial guard, who were aliens
 to the public interest, and animated only by a
 principle of honour and gratitude. After their
 defeat, the fears of the emperor solicited a treaty,
 which was almost accepted by the moderation of
 the Comnenial. But the former was betrayed by
 his ambassadors, and the latter was prevented by
 his friends. The solitary Michael submitted to the
 voice of the people; the patriarch annulled their
 oath of allegiance; and as he shaved the head of
 the royal monk, congratulated his beneficial ex-
 change of temporal royalty for the kingdom of
 heaven: An exchange, however, which the priest,
on

CHAP. on his own account, would probably have declined. By the hands of the same patriarch, Isaac XLVIII. Comnenus was solemnly crowned: The sword which he inscribed on his coins, might be an offensive symbol, if it implied his title by conquest; but this sword would have been drawn against the foreign and domestic enemies of the state. The decline of his health and vigour suspended the operation of active virtue; and the prospect of approaching death determined him to interpose some moments between life and eternity. But instead of leaving the empire as the marriage portion of his daughter, his reason and inclination concurred in the preference of his brother John, a soldier, a patriot, and the father of five sons, the future pillars of an hereditary succession. His first modest reluctance might be the natural dictates of discretion and tenderness, but his obstinate and successful perseverance, however it may dazzle with the shew of virtue, must be censured as a criminal desertion of his duty, and a rare offence against his family and country. The purple which he had refused was accepted by Constantine Ducas, a friend of the Comnenian house, and whose noble birth was adorned with the experience and reputation of civil policy. In the monastic habit, Isaac recovered his health, and survived two years his voluntary abdication. At the command of his abbot, he observed the rule of St Basil, and executed the most servile offices of the convent: But his latent vanity was gratified by the frequent and respectful visits of the reigning monarch, who revered in his person the character of a benefactor and a saint.

If

If Constantine the eleventh were indeed the subject most worthy of empire, we must pity the debasement of the age and nation in which he was chosen. In the labour of puerile declamations he fought, without obtaining, the crown of eloquence, more precious in his opinion, than that of Rome; and in the subordinate functions of a judge, he forgot the duties of a sovereign and a warrior. Far from imitating the patriotic indifference of the authors of his greatness, Ducas was anxious only to secure, at the expence of the republic, the power and prosperity of his children. His three sons, Michael the seventh, Andronicus the first, and Constantine the twelfth, were invested, in a tender age, with the equal title of Augustus; and the succession was speedily opened by their father's death. His widow, Eudocia, was entrusted with the administration; but experience had taught the jealousy of the dying monarch to protect his sons from the danger of her second nuptials; and her solemn engagement, attested by the principal senators, was deposited in the hands of the patriarch. Before the end of seven months, the wants of Eudocia, or those of the state, called aloud for the male virtues of a soldier: And her heart had already chosen Romanus Diogenes, whom she raised from the scaffold to the throne. The discovery of a treasonable attempt had exposed him to the severity of the laws: His beauty and valour absolved him in the eyes of the empress; and Romanus, from a mild exile, was recalled on the second day to the command of the Oriental armies. Her royal choice was yet unknown.

C H A P.

XLVIII.

Constantine XI.
Ducas,
A. D.
1059,
Dec. 25.

Eudocia.
A. D.
1067,
May.

C H A P. unknown to the public, and the promise which
XLVIII. would have betrayed her falsehood and levity, was
 { stolen by a dextrous emissary from the ambition of
 the patriarch. Xiphilin at first alleged the sanctity
 of oaths and the sacred nature of a trust; but a
 whisper that his brother was the future emperor,
 relaxed his scruples, and forced him to confess
 that the public safety was the supreme law. He
 resigned the important paper; and when his hopes
 were confounded by the nomination of Romanus,
 he could no longer regain his security, retract his
 declarations, nor oppose the second nuptials of
 the empress. Yet a murmur was heard in the
 palace; and the Barbarian guards had raised their
 battle-axes in the cause of the house of Ducas, till
 the young princes were soothed by the tears of their
 mother and the solemn assurances of the fidelity of
 their guardian, who filled the Imperial station with
 dignity and honour. Hereafter I shall relate his
 valiant but unsuccessful efforts to resist the pro-
 gress of the Turks. His defeat and captivity
 inflicted a deadly wound on the Byzantine mo-
 narchy of the East; and after he was released from
 the chains of the sultan, he vainly sought his wife
 and his subjects. His wife had been thrust into
 a monastery, and the subjects of Romanus had
 embraced the rigid maxim of the civil law, that a
 prisoner in the hands of the enemy is deprived, as
 by the stroke of death, of all the public and pri-
 vate rights of a citizen. In the general consterna-
 tion, the Cæsar John asserted the indefeasible right
 of his three nephews: Constantinople listened to
 his voice; and the Turkish captive was proclaim-
 ed

Romanus
 III. Dio-
 genes,
 A. D.
 1067,
 August.

Michael
 VII. Para-
 pinaces,
 Androni-
 cus I.
 Constan-
 tine XII.

ed in the capital, and received on the frontier, as an enemy of the republic. Romanus was not more fortunate in domestic than in foreign war: The loss of two battles compelled him to yield, on the assurance of fair and honourable treatment; but his enemies were devoid of faith or humanity; and, after the cruel extinction of his sight, his wounds were left to bleed and corrupt, till in a few days he was relieved from a state of misery. Under the triple reign of the house of Ducas, the two younger brothers were reduced to the vain honours of the purple; but the eldest, the pusillanimous Michael, was incapable of sustaining the Roman sceptre; and his surname of *Parapinaces* denotes the reproach which he shared with an avaricious favourite, who enhanced the price, and diminished the measure, of wheat. In the school of Psellus, and after the example of his mother, the son of Eudocia made some proficiency in philosophy and rhetoric; but his character was degraded, rather than ennobled, by the virtues of a monk and the learning of a sophist. Strong in the contempt of their sovereign and their own esteem, two generals at the head of the European and Asiatic legions assumed the purple at Adrianople and Nice. Their revolt was in the same month; they bore the same name of Nicephorus; but the two candidates were distinguished by the surnames of Bryennius and Botaniates; the former in the maturity of wisdom and courage, the latter conspicuous, only by the memory of his past exploits. While Botaniates advanced with cautious and dilatory steps, his active competitor stood in arms before the gates
of

C H A P.

XLVIII.

A. D.
1071,
August.

CHAP. of Constantinople. The name of Bryennius was
 XLVIII. illustrious; his cause was popular; but his licen-
 { tious troops could not be restrained from burning
 and pillaging a suburb; and the people, who would
 have hailed the rebel, rejected and repulsed the
 incendiary of his country. This change of the
 public opinion was favourable to Botaniates, who
 at length, with an army of Turks, approached
 the shores of Chalcedon. A formal invitation,
 in the name of the patriarch, the synod, and the
 senate, was circulated through the streets of Con-
 stantinople; and the general assembly, in the
 dome of St Sophia, debated, with order and calm-
 ness, on the choice of their sovereign. The guards
 of Michael would have dispersed this unarmed
 multitude; but the feeble emperor, applauding
 his own moderation and clemency, resigned the
 ensigns of royalty, and was rewarded with the
 monastic habit, and the title of archbishop of
 Ephesus. He left a son, a Constantine, born and
 educated in the purple; and a daughter of the
 house of Ducas illustrated the blood, and con-
 firmed the succession of the Comnenian dynasty.

Nicepho-
 rus III.
 Botani-
 ates, A. D.
 1078,
 March 25.

John Comnenus, the brother of the emperor
 Isaac, survived in peace and dignity his generous
 refusal of the sceptre. By his wife Anne, a wo-
 man of masculine spirit and policy, he left eight
 children: The three daughters multiplied the Com-
 nenian alliances with the noblest of the Greeks: Of
 the five sons, Manuel was stopped by a premature
 death; Isaac and Alexius restored the Imperial
 greatness of their house, which was enjoyed with-
 out toil or danger by the two younger brethren,

Adrian

Adrian and Nicephorus. Alexius, the third and most illustrious of the brothers, was endowed by nature with the choicest gifts both of mind and body : They were cultivated by a liberal education, and exercised in the school of obedience and adversity. The youth was dismissed from the perils of the Turkish war, by the paternal care of the emperor Romanus ; but the mother of the Comneni, with her aspiring race, was accused of treason, and banished, by the sons of Ducas, to an island in the Propontis. The two brothers soon emerged into favour and action, fought by each other's side against the rebels and Barbarians, and adhered to the emperor Michael, till he was deserted by the world and by himself. In his first interview with Botaniates, " Prince," said Alexius, with a noble frankness, " my duty rendered me your enemy ; " the decrees of God and of the people have made " me your subject. Judge of my future loyalty " by my past opposition." The successor of Michael entertained him with esteem and confidence : His valour was employed against three rebels, who disturbed the peace of the empire, or at least of the emperors. Ursel, Bryennius, and Basilacius, were formidable by their numerous forces, and military fame : They were successively vanquished in the field, and led in chains to the foot of the throne ; and whatever treatment they might receive from a timid and cruel court, they applauded the clemency, as well as the courage, of their conqueror. But the loyalty of the Comneni was soon tainted by fear and suspicion ; nor is it easy to settle between a subject and a despot, the debt

C H A P. of gratitude, which the former is tempted to claim
 XLVIII. by a revolt, and the latter to discharge by an executioner. The refusal of Alexius to march against a fourth rebel, the husband of his sister, destroyed the merit or memory of his past services : The favourites of Botaniates provoked the ambition which they apprehended and accused ; and the retreat of the two brothers might be justified by the defence of their life or liberty. The women of the family were deposited in a sanctuary, respected by tyrants : The men, mounted on horseback, sallied from the city, and erected the standard of civil war. The soldiers, who had been gradually assembled in the capital and the neighbourhood, were devoted to the cause of a victorious and injured leader : The ties of common interest and domestic alliance secured the attachment of the house of Ducas ; and the generous dispute of the Comneni was terminated by the decisive resolution of Isaac, who was the first to invest his younger brother with the name and ensigns of royalty. They returned to Constantinople, to threaten rather than besiege that impregnable fortress ; but the fidelity of the guards was corrupted ; a gate was surprised ; and the fleet was occupied by the active courage of George Pelæologus, who fought against his father, without foreseeing that he laboured for his posterity. Alexius ascended the throne ; and his aged competitor disappeared in a monastery. An army of various nations was gratified with the pillage of the city ; but the public disorders were expiated by the tears and fasts of the Comneni, who submitted to every penance compatible with the possession of the empire

The

The life of the emperor Alexius has been delineated by a favourite daughter, who was inspired by a tender regard for his person, and a laudable zeal to perpetuate his virtues. Conscious of the just suspicion of her readers, the princess Anna Comnena repeatedly protests, that, besides her personal knowledge, she had searched the discourse and writings of the most respectable veterans: That after an interval of thirty years, forgotten by, and forgetful of the world, her mournful solitude was inaccessible to hope and fear; and that truth, the naked perfect truth, was more dear and sacred than the memory of her parent. Yet, instead of the simplicity of stile and narrative which wins our belief, an elaborate affectation of rhetoric and science betrays, in every page, the vanity of a female author. The genuine character of Alexius is lost in a vague constellation of virtues; and the perpetual strain of panegyric and apology awakens our jealousy, to question the veracity of the historian and the merit of the hero. We cannot, however, refuse her judicious and important remark, that the disorders of the times were the misfortune and the glory of Alexius; and that every calamity which can afflict a declining empire, was accumulated on his reign by the justice of heaven, and the vices of his predecessors. In the East, the victorious Turks had spread, from Persia to the Hellespont, the reign of the Koran and the Crescent: The West was invaded by the adventurous valour of the Normans; and, in the moments of peace, the Danube poured forth new swarms, who had gained, in the science of war, what they had

C H A P.

XLVIII.

Alexius I.
Com-
nenus,
A. D.
1081,
April 1.

CHAP. lost in the ferociousness of manners. The sea
XLVIII. was not less hostile than the land ; and while the
frontiers were assaulted by an open enemy, the palace was distracted with secret treason and conspiracy. On a sudden, the banner of the Cross was displayed by the Latins : Europe was precipitated on Asia ; and Constantinople had almost been swept away by this impetuous deluge. In the tempest Alexius steered the Imperial vessel with dexterity and courage. At the head of his armies he was bold in action, skilful in stratagem, patient of fatigue, ready to improve his advantages, and rising from his defeats with inexhaustible vigour. The discipline of the camp was revived, and a new generation of men and soldiers was created by the example and the precepts of their leader. In his intercourse with the Latins, Alexius was patient and artful : His discerning eye pervaded the new system of an unknown world ; and I shall hereafter describe the superior policy with which he balanced the interests and passions of the champions of the first crusade. In a long reign of thirty-seven years, he subdued and pardoned the envy of his equals : The laws of public and private order were restored : The arts of wealth and science were cultivated : The limits of the empire were enlarged in Europe and Asia ; and the Comnenian sceptre was transmitted to his children of the third and fourth generation. Yet the difficulties of the times betrayed some defects in his character ; and have exposed his memory to some just or ungenerous reproach. The reader may possibly smile at the lavish praise which his daughter so often bestows on a flying hero : The
weakness

weakness or prudence of his situation might be mistaken for a want of personal courage ; and his political arts are branded by the Latins with the names of deceit and dissimulation. The increase of the male and female branches of his family adorned the throne and secured the succession ; but their princely luxury and pride offended the patricians, exhausted the revenue, and insulted the misery of the people. Anna is a faithful witness that his happiness was destroyed, and his health was broken, by the cares of a public life : The patience of Constantinople was fatigued by the length and severity of his reign ; and before Alexius expired, he had lost the love and reverence of his subjects. The clergy could not forgive his application of the sacred riches to the defence of the state ; but they applauded his theological learning and ardent zeal for the orthodox faith, which he defended with his tongue, his pen, and his sword. His character was degraded by the superstition of the Greeks ; and the same inconsistent principle of human nature enjoined the emperor to found an hospital for the poor and infirm, and to direct the execution of an heretic, who was burnt alive in the square of St Sophia. Even the sincerity of his moral and religious virtues, was suspected by the persons who had passed their lives in his familiar confidence. In his last hours, when he was pressed by his wife Irene to alter the succession, he raised his head, and breathed a pious ejaculation on the vanity of this world. The indignant reply of the empress may

C H A P.
XLVIII.

C H A P. be inscribed as an epitaph on his tomb, " You
 XLVIII. " die, as you have lived—AN HYPOCRITE !"

John, or
 Calo-
 Johannes,
 A. D.
 1118,
 August 15.

It was the wish of Irene to supplant the eldest of her surviving sons, in favour of her daughter the princess Anne, whose philosophy would not have refused the weight of a diadem. But the order of male succession was asserted by the friends of their country ; the lawful heir drew the royal signet from the finger of his insensible or conscious father, and the empire obeyed the master of the palace. Anna Comnena was stimulated by ambition and revenge to conspire against the life of her brother, and when the design was prevented by the fears or scruples of her husband, she passionately exclaimed, that nature had mistaken the two sexes, and had endowed Bryennius with the soul of a woman. The two sons of Alexius, John and Isaac, maintained the fraternal concord, the hereditary virtue of their race ; and the younger brother was content with the title of *Sebastocrator*, which approached the dignity, without sharing the power, of the emperor. In the same person, the claims of primogeniture and merit were fortunately united ; his swarthy complexion, harsh features, and diminutive stature, had suggested the ironical surname of Calo-Johannes, or John the Handsome, which his grateful subjects more seriously applied to the beauties of his mind. After the discovery of her treason, the life and fortune of Anne were justly forfeited to the laws. Her life was spared by the clemency of the emperor, but he visited the pomp and treasures of her palace, and bestowed the rich
 confiscation

C H A P.

XLVIII.

confiscation on the most deserving of his friends. That respectable friend, Axuch, a slave of Turkish extraction, presumed to decline the gift, and to intercede for the criminal : His generous master applauded and imitated the virtue of his favourite, and the reproach or complaint of an injured brother was the only chastisement of the guilty princess. After this example of clemency, the remainder of his reign was never disturbed by conspiracy or rebellion : Feared by his nobles, beloved by his people, John was never reduced to the painful necessity of punishing, or even of pardoning, his personal enemies. During his government of twenty-five years, the penalty of death was abolished in the Roman empire, a law of mercy most delightful to the human theorist, but of which the practice, in a large and vicious community, is seldom consistent with the public safety. Severe to himself, indulgent to others, chaste, frugal, abstemious, the philosophic Marcus would not have disdained the artless virtues of his successor, derived from his heart, and not borrowed from the schools. He despised and moderated the stately magnificence of the Byzantine court, so oppressive to the people, so contemptible to the eye of reason. Under such a prince, innocence had nothing to fear, and merit had every thing to hope ; and without assuming the tyrannic office of a censor, he introduced a gradual, though visible, reformation in the public and private manners of Constantinople. The only defect of this accomplished character was the frailty of noble minds, the love of arms and military glory. Yet the frequent expeditions

C H A P. of John the Handsome may be justified, at least in
XLVIII. their principle, by the necessity of repelling the
 { Turks from the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. The sultan of Iconium was confined to his capital, the Barbarians were driven to the mountains, and the maritime provinces of Asia enjoyed the transient blessings of their deliverance. From Constantinople to Antioch and Aleppo, he repeatedly marched at the head of a victorious army, and in the sieges and battles of this holy war, his Latin allies were astonished by the superior spirit and prowess of a Greek. As he began to indulge the ambitious hope of restoring the ancient limits of the empire, as he revolved in his mind, the Euphrates and Tigris, the dominion of Syria, and the conquest of Jerusalem, the thread of his life and of the public felicity was broken by a singular accident. He hunted the wild boar in the valley of Anazarbus, and had fixed his javelin in the body of the furious animal: But, in the struggle, a poisoned arrow dropped from his quiver, and a slight wound in his hand, which produced a mortification, was fatal to the best and greatest of the Comnenian princes.


Manuel,
 A. D.
 1143,
 April 8.

A premature death had swept away the two eldest sons of John the Handsome; of the two survivors, Isaac and Manuel, his judgment or affection preferred the younger; and the choice of their dying prince was ratified by the soldiers who had applauded the valour of his favourite in the Turkish war. The faithful Axutch hastened to the capital, secured the person of Isaac in honourable confinement, and purchased, with a gift of two hundred

hundred pounds of silver, the leading ecclesiastics of St Sophia, who possessed a decisive voice in the consecration of an emperor. With his veteran and affectionate troops, Manuel soon visited Constantinople; his brother acquiesced in the title of Sebastocrator; his subjects admired the lofty stature and martial graces of their new sovereign, and listened with credulity to the flattering promise, that he blended the wisdom of age with the activity and vigour of youth. By the experience of his government, they were taught, that he emulated the spirit, and shared the talents, of his father, whose social virtues were buried in the grave. A reign of thirty-seven years is filled by a perpetual though various warfare against the Turks, the Christians, and the hords in the wilderness beyond the Danube. The arms of Manuel were exercised on mount Taurus, in the plains of Hungary, on the coast of Italy and Egypt, and on the seas of Sicily and Greece: The influence of his negotiations extended from Jerusalem to Rome and Russia; and the Byzantine monarchy, for a while, became an object of respect or terror to the powers of Asia and Europe. Educated in the silk and purple of the East, Manuel possessed the iron temper of a soldier, which cannot easily be paralleled, except in the lives of Richard the first of England, and of Charles the twelfth of Sweden. Such was his strength and exercise in arms, that Raymond, surnamed the Hercules of Antioch, was incapable of wielding the lance and buckler of the Greek emperor. In a famous tournament, he entered the lists on a fiery courser, and overturned, in his first

career

C H A P . career two of the stoutest of the Italian knights.

XLVIII.  The first in the charge, the last in the retreat, his friends and his enemies alike trembled, the former for *his* safety, and the latter for their own. After posting an ambuscade in a wood, he rode forwards in search of some perilous adventure, accompanied only by his brother and the faithful Axuch, who refused to desert their sovereign. Eighteen horsemen, after a short combat, fled before them : But the numbers of the enemy increased ; the march of the reinforcement was tardy and fearful, and Manuel, without receiving a wound, cut his way through a squadron of five hundred Turks. In a battle against the Hungarians, impatient of the slowness of his troops, he snatched a standard from the head of the column, and was the first, almost alone, who passed a bridge that separated him from the enemy. In the same country, after transporting his army beyond the Save, he sent back the boats with an order, under pain of death, to their commander, that he should leave him to conquer or die on that hostile land. In the siege of Corfu, towing after him a captive galley, the emperor stood aloft on the poop, opposing against the volleys of darts and stones, a large buckler and a flowing sail, nor could he have escaped inevitable death, had not the Sicilian admiral enjoined his archers to respect the person of an hero. In one day, he is said to have slain above forty of the Barbarians with his own hand ; he returned to the camp, dragging along four Turkish prisoners, whom he had tied to the rings of his saddle : He was ever the foremost to provoke or to accept a single combat ;

combat; and the *gigantic* champions, who encountered his arm, were transpierced by the lance, or cut asunder by the sword, of the invincible Manuel. The story of his exploits, which appear as a model or a copy of the romances of chivalry, may induce a reasonable suspicion of the veracity of the Greeks: I will not, to vindicate their credit, endanger my own; yet I may observe, that in the long series of their annals, Manuel is the only prince who has been the subject of similar exaggeration. With the valour of a soldier, he did not unite the skill or prudence of a general: His victories were not productive of any permanent or useful conquest; and his Turkish laurels were blasted in his last unfortunate campaign, in which he lost his army in the mountains of Pisidia, and owed his deliverance to the generosity of the sultan. But the most singular feature in the character of Manuel, is the contrast and vicissitude of labour and sloth, of hardiness and effeminacy. In war he seemed ignorant of peace, in peace he appeared incapable of war. In the field he slept in the sun or in the snow, tired in the longest marches the strength of his men and horses, and shared with a smile the abstinence or diet of the camp. No sooner did he return to Constantinople, than he resigned himself to the arts and pleasures of a life of luxury: The expence of his dress, his table, and his palace, surpassed the measure of his predecessors, and whole summer days were idly wasted in the delicious isles of the Propontis, in the incestuous love of his niece Theodora. The double cost of a warlike and dissolute prince, exhausted the revenue,

C H A P.

XLVIII.

C H A P. revenue, and multiplied the taxes ; and Manuel, **XLVIII.** in the distress of his last Turkish camp, endured a bitter reproach from the mouth of a desperate soldier. As he quenched his thirst, he complained that the water of a fountain was mingled with Christian blood. " It is not the first time," exclaimed a voice from the crowd, " that you have " drank, O emperor ! the blood of your Christian " subjects." Manuel Comnenus was twice married to the virtuous Bertha or Irene of Germany, and to the beauteous Maria, a French or Latin princess of Antioch. The only daughter of his first wife was destined for Bela an Hungarian prince, who was educated at Constantinople, under the name of Alexius ; and the consummation of their nuptials might have transferred the Roman sceptre to a race of free and warlike Barbarians. But, as soon as Maria of Antioch had given a son and heir to the empire, the presumptive rights of Bela were abolished, and he was deprived of his promised bride ; but the Hungarian prince resumed his name, and the kingdom of his fathers, and displayed such virtues as might excite the regret and envy of the Greeks. The son of Maria was named Alexius ; and at the age of ten years, he ascended the Byzantine throne, after his father's decease had closed the glories of the Comnenian line.

Alexius II.
A.D. 1180.
Sept. 24.
Character
and first
adven-
tures of
Androni-
cus.

The fraternal concord of the two sons of the great Alexius had been sometimes clouded by an opposition of interest and passion. By ambition, Isaac the Sebastocrator was excited to flight and rebellion, from whence he was reclaimed by the firmness and clemency of John the Handsome. The

errors

errors of Isaac, the father of the emperors of Tre- C H A P.
 bizond, were short and venial: But John, the elder XLVIII.
 of his sons, renounced for ever his religion. Pro-
 voked by a real or imaginary insult of his uncle,
 he escaped from the Roman to the Turkish camp:
 His apostacy was rewarded with the sultan's
 daughter, the title of Chelebi, or noble, and the
 inheritance of a princely estate; and in the fifteenth
 century, Mahomet the second boasted of his Im-
 perial descent from the Comnenian family. An-
 dronicus, younger brother of John, son of Isaac,
 and grandson of Alexius Comnenus, is one of the
 most conspicuous characters of the age; and his
 genuine adventures might form the subject of a
 very singular romance. To justify the choice of
 three ladies of royal birth, it is incumbent on me
 to observe, that their fortunate lover was cast in
 the best proportions of strength and beauty; and
 that the want of the softer graces was supplied
 by a manly countenance, a lofty stature, athletic
 muscles, and the air and deportment of a soldier.
 The preservation, in his old age, of health and vi-
 gour, was the reward of temperance and exercise.
 A piece of bread and a draught of water were often
 his sole and evening repast; and if he tasted of
 a wild boar, or a stag, which he had roasted with
 his own hands, it was the well-earned fruit of a
 laborious chace. Dexterous in arms, he was igno-
 rant of fear: His persuasive eloquence could bend
 to every situation and character of life: His stile,
 though not his practice, was fashioned by the ex-
 ample of St Paul; and, in every deed of mischief,
 he had a heart to resolve, a head to contrive, and
 a hand to execute. In his youth, after the death
 of

C H A P. of the emperor John, he followed the retreat of the
XLVIII. Roman army ; but, in the march through Asia
Minor, design or accident tempted him to wander
in the mountains ; the hunter was encompassed
by the Turkish huntsmen, and he remained some
time a reluctant or willing captive in the power
of the sultan. His virtues and vices recommended
him to the favour of his cousin : He shared
the perils and the pleasures of Manuel ; and while
the emperor lived in public incest with his niece
Theodora, the affections of her sister Eudocia were
seduced and enjoyed by Andronicus. Above the
decencies of her sex and rank, she gloried in the
name of his concubine ; and both the palace and
the camp could witness that she slept, or watched,
in the arms of her lover. She accompanied him
to his military command of Cilicia, the first scene
of his valour and imprudence. He pressed, with
active ardour, the siege of Mopsuestia ; the day was
employed in the boldest attacks ; but the night
was wasted in song and dance ; and a band of Greek
comedians formed the choicest part of his retinue.
Andronicus was surprised by the sally of a vigilant
foe ; but, while his troops fled in disorder, his in-
vincible lance transpierced the thickest ranks of
the Armenians. On his return to the Imperial
camp in Macedonia, he was received by Manuel
with public smiles, and a private reproof ; but the
duchies of Naissus, Braniseba, and Castoria, were
the reward or consolation of the unsuccessful ge-
neral. Eudocia still attended his motions : At
midnight, their tent was suddenly attacked by
her angry brothers, impatient to expiate her infa-
my

my in his blood : His daring spirit refused her advice, and the disguise of a female habit ; and boldly starting from his couch, he drew his sword, and cut his way through the numerous assassins. It was here that he first betrayed his ingratitude and treachery : He engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the king of Hungary, and the German emperor ; approached the royal tent at a suspicious hour, with a drawn sword, and, under the mask of a Latin soldier, avowed an intention of revenge against a mortal foe ; and imprudently praised the fleetness of his horse, as an instrument of flight and safety. The monarch dissembled his suspicions ; but, after the close of the campaign, Andronicus was arrested and strictly confined in a tower of the palace of Constantinople.

In this prison he was left above twelve years ; a most painful restraint, from which the thirst of action and pleasure perpetually urged him to escape. Alone and pensive, he perceived some broken bricks in a corner of the chamber, and gradually widened the passage, till he had explored a dark and forgotten recess. Into this hole he conveyed himself, and the remains of his provisions, replacing the bricks in their former position, and erasing with care the footsteps of his retreat. At the hour of the customary visit, his guards were amazed by the silence and solitude of the prison, and reported, with shame and fear, his incomprehensible flight. The gates of the palace and city were instantly shut : The strictest orders were dispatched into the provinces, for the recovery of the fugitive ; and his wife, on the suspicion
of

C H A P.

XLVIII.

C H A P. of a pious act, was basely imprisoned in the same
XLVIII. tower. At the dead of night, she beheld a spectre :
She recognized her husband : They shared their provisions ; and a son was the fruit of these stolen interviews, which alleviated the tediousness of their confinement. In the custody of a woman, the vigilance of the keepers was insensibly relaxed ; and the captive had accomplished his real escape, when he was discovered, brought back to Constantinople, and loaded with a double chain. At length he found the moment and the means of his deliverance. A boy, his domestic servant, intoxicated the guards, and obtained in wax the impression of the keys. By the diligence of his friends, a similar key, with a bundle of ropes, was introduced into the prison, in the bottom of a hogshead. Andronicus employed, with industry and courage, the instruments of his safety, unlocked the doors, descended from the tower, concealed himself all day among the bushes, and scaled in the night the garden-wall of the palace. A boat was stationed for his reception : He visited his own house, embraced his children, cast away his chain, mounted a fleet horse, and directed his rapid course towards the banks of the Danube. At Anchialus in Thrace, an intrepid friend supplied him with horses and money : He passed the river, traversed with speed the desert of Moldavia and the Carpathian hills, and had almost reached the town of Halicz, in the Polish Russia, when he was intercepted by a party of Walachians, who resolved to convey their important captive to Constantinople. His presence of mind again extricated him from this danger. Under the pretence
of

of sickness, he dismounted in the night, and was allowed to step aside from the troop ; he planted in the ground his long staff ; clothed it with his cap and upper garment ; and, stealing into the wood, left a phantom to amuse, for some time, the eyes of the Walachians. From Haliez he was honourably conducted to Kiow, the residence of the great duke ; the subtle Greek soon obtained the esteem and confidence of Ieroslaus ; his character could assume the manners of every climate ; and the Barbarians applauded his strength and courage in the chace of the elks and bears of the forest. In this northern region he deserved the forgiveness of Manuel, who solicited the Russian prince to join his arms in the invasion of Hungary. The influence of Andronicus atchieved this important service : His private treaty was signed with a promise of fidelity on one side, and of oblivion on the other ; and he marched at the head of the Russian cavalry, from the Borysthenes to the Danube. In his resentment Manuel had ever sympathised with the martial and dissolute character of his cousin ; and his free pardon was sealed in the assault of Zemlin, in which he was second, and second only, to the valour of the emperor.

No sooner was the exile restored to freedom and his countty, than his ambition revived, at first to his own, and at length to the public misfortune. A daughter of Manuel was a feeble bar to the succession of the more deserving males of the Comnenian blood ; her future marriage with the prince of Hungary was repugnant to the hopes or prejudices

C H A P.
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CHAP. dices of the princes and nobles. But when an oath
 XLVIII. of allegiance was required to the presumptive heir,
 Andronicus alone asserted the honour of the Roman
 name, declined the unlawful engagement, and
 boldly protested against the adoption of a stranger.
 His patriotism was offensive to the emperor, but
 he spoke the sentiments of the people, and was re-
 moved from the royal presence, by an honourable
 banishment, a second command of the Cilician
 frontier, with the absolute disposal of the revenues
 of Cyprus. In this station, the Armenians again
 exercised his courage and exposed his negligence;
 and the same rebel, who baffled all his operations,
 was unhorsed, and almost slain by the vigour of his
 lance. But Andronicus soon discovered a more
 easy and pleasing conquest, the beautiful Philippa,
 sister of the empress Maria, and daughter of Ray-
 mond of Poitou, the Latin prince of Antioch. For
 her sake he deserted his station, and wasted the
 summer in balls and tournaments; to his love she
 sacrificed her innocence, her reputation, and the
 offer of an advantageous marriage. But the re-
 sentment of Manuel for this domestic affront, inter-
 rupted his pleasures: Andronicus left the indiscreet
 princess to weep and to repent; and with a band
 of desperate adventurers, undertook the pilgrimage
 of Jerusalem. His birth, his martial renown, and
 professions of zeal, announced him as the champion
 of the cross: He soon captivated both the clergy
 and the king; and the Greek prince was invested
 with the lordship of Berytus, on the coast of
 Phœnicia. In his neighbourhood resided a young
 and

and handsome queen, of his own nation and family, great-grand-daughter of the emperor Alex-
 ius, and widow of Baldwin the third, king of Jerusa-
 lem. She visited and loved her kinsman. Theodora was the third victim of his amorous seduction ; and her shame was more public and scandalous than that of her predecessors. The emperor still thirsted for revenge ; and his subjects and allies of the Syrian frontier were repeatedly pressed to seize the person, and put out the eyes, of the fugitive. In Palestine he was no longer safe ; but the tender Theodora revealed his danger, and accompanied his flight. The queen of Jerusalem was exposed to the East, his obsequious concubine ; and two illegitimate children were the living monuments of her weakness. Damascus was his first refuge ; and, in the characters of the great Nouredin and his servant Saladin, the superstitious Greek might learn to revere the virtues of the Mussulmans. A the friend of Nouredin he visited, most probably Bagdad, and the courts of Persia ; and, after a long circuit round the Caspian Sea, and the Mountains of Georgia, he finally settled among the Turks of Asia Minor, the hereditary enemies of his country. The sultan of Colonia afforded an hospitable retreat to Andronicus, his mistress, and his band of outlaws : The debt of gratitude was paid by frequent inroads in the Roman province of Trebizond ; and he seldom returned without an ample harvest of spoil and of Christian captives. In the story of his adventures, he was fond of comparing himself to David, who escaped, by a long exile, the snares of the wicked. But the royal prophet

C H A P. (he presumed to add) was content to lurk on the
XLVIII. borders of Judæa, to slay an Amalekite, and to
threaten, in his miserable state, the life of the
avaricious Nabal. The excursions of the Comnenian prince had a wider range; and he had spread over the Eastern world the glory of his name and religion. By a sentence of the Greek church, the licentious rover had been separated from the faithful; but even this excommunication may prove, that he never abjured the profession of Christianity.

His vigilance had eluded or repelled the open and secret persecution of the emperor; but he was at length ensnared by the captivity of his female companion. The governor of Trebizond succeeded in his attempt to surprise the person of Theodora: The queen of Jerusalem and her two children were sent to Constantinople, and their loss embittered the tedious solitude of banishment. The fugitive implored and obtained a final pardon, with leave to throw himself at the feet of his sovereign, who was satisfied with the submission of this haughty spirit. Prostrate on the ground, he deplored with tears and groans the guilt of his past rebellion; nor would he presume to arise, unless some faithful subject would drag him to the foot of the throne, by an iron chain with which he had secretly encircled his neck. This extraordinary penance excited the wonder and pity of the assembly; his sins were forgiven by the church and state; but the just suspicion of Manuel fixed his residence at a distance from the court, at Oenoe, a town of Pontus, surrounded with rich vineyards, and situate on the coast of the Euxine. The death
of

of Manuel, and the disorders of the minority, soon opened the fairest field to his ambition. The emperor was a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age, without vigour, or wisdom, or experience; his mother, the empress Mary, abandoned her person and government to a favourite of the Comnenian name; and his sister, another Mary, whose husband, an Italian, was decorated with the title of Cæsar, excited a conspiracy, and at length an insurrection, against her odious stepmother. The provinces were forgotten, the capital was in flames, and a century of peace and order was overthrown in the vice and weakness of a few months. A civil war was kindled in Constantinople; the two factions fought a bloody battle in the square of the palace, and the rebels sustained a regular siege in the cathedral of St Sophia. The patriarch laboured with honest zeal to heal the wounds of the republic, the most respectable patriots called aloud for a guardian and avenger, and every tongue repeated the praise of the talents, and even the virtues of Andronicus. In his retirement, he affected to revolve the solemn duties of his oath: "If the safety or honour of the Imperial family be threatened, I will reveal and oppose the mischief to the utmost of my power." His correspondence with the patriarch and patricians was seasoned with apt quotations from the Psalms of David and the Epistles of St Paul; and he patiently waited till he was called to her deliverance by the voice of his country. In his march from Oenoe to Constantinople, his slender train insensibly swelled to a crowd and an army; his professions of religion

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CHAP. and loyalty were mistaken for the language of his
XLVIII. heart; and the simplicity of a foreign dress, which
shewed to advantage his majestic stature, displayed a lively image of his poverty and exile. All opposition sunk before him; he reached the streights of the Thracian Bosphorus; the Byzantine navy sailed from the harbour to receive and transport the saviour of the empire: The torrent was loud and irresistible, and the insects who had basked in the sunshine of royal favour, disappeared at the blast of the storm. It was the first care of Andronicus to occupy the palace, to salute the emperor, to confine his mother, to punish her minister, and to restore the public order and tranquillity. He then visited the sepulchre of Manuel: The spectators were ordered to stand aloof; but, as he bowed in the attitude of prayer, they heard, or thought they heard, a murmur of triumph and revenge. "I no longer fear thee, my old enemy, who hast driven me a vagabond to every climate of the earth. Thou art safely deposited under a seven-fold dome, from whence thou canst never arise till the signal of the last trumpet. It is now my turn, and speedily will I trample on thy ashes and thy posterity." From his subsequent tyranny, we may impute such feelings to the man and the moment; but it is not extremely probable that he gave an articulate sound to his secret thoughts. In the first months of his administration, his designs were veiled by a fair semblance of hypocrisy, which could delude only the eyes of the multitude: The coronation of Alexius was performed with due solemnity, and his perfidious guardian, holding

holding in his hands the body and blood of Christ, C H A P.
 most fervently declared, that he lived, and was XLVIII.
 ready to die, for the service of his beloved pupil. }
 But his numerous adherents were instructed to maintain, that the sinking empire must perish in the hands of a child, that the Romans could only be saved by a veteran prince, bold in arms, skilful in policy, and taught to reign by the long experience of fortune and mankind ; and that it was the duty of every citizen to force the reluctant modesty of Andronicus to undertake the burthen of the public care. The young emperor was himself constrained to join his voice to the general acclamation, and to solicit the association of a colleague, who instantly degraded him from the supreme rank, secluded his person, and verified the rash declaration of the patriarch, that Alexius might be considered as dead, so soon as he was committed to the custody of his guardian. But his death was preceded by the imprisonment and execution of his mother. After blackening her reputation, and inflaming against her the passions of the multitude, the tyrant accused and tried the empress for a treasonable correspondence with the king of Hungary. His own son, a youth of honour and humanity, avowed his abhorrence of this flagitious act, and three of the judges had the merit of preferring their conscience to their safety ; but the obsequious tribunal, without requiring any proof, or hearing any defence, condemned the widow of Manuel ; and her unfortunate son subscribed the sentence of her death. Maria was strangled, her corpse was

H 4

buried

CHAP. buried in the sea, and her memory was wounded
 XLVIII. by the insult most offensive to female vanity, a
 false and ugly representation of her beauteous form.
 The fate of her son was not long deferred ; he was
 strangled with a bowstring, and the tyrant, insensible to pity or remorse, after surveying the body of the innocent youth, struck it rudely with his foot : “ Thy father,” he cried, “ was a *knave*, “ thy mother a *whore*, and thyself a *fool* !”

Androni-
 cus I.
 Comne
 nus
 A. D.
 1183,
 October.

The Roman sceptre, the reward of his crimes, was held by Andronicus about three years and a half, as the guardian or sovereign of the empire. His government exhibited a singular contrast of vice and virtue. When he listened to his passions, he was the scourge ; when he consulted his reason, the father of his people. In the exercise of private justice, he was equitable and rigorous ; a shameful and pernicious venality was abolished, and the offices were filled with the most deserving candidates, by a prince who had sense to chuse, and severity to punish. He prohibited the inhuman practice of pillaging the goods and persons of shipwrecked mariners ; the provinces, so long the objects of oppression or neglect, revived in prosperity and plenty ; and millions applauded the distant blessings of his reign, while he was cursed by the witnesses of his daily cruelties. The ancient proverb, That blood-thirsty is the man who returns from banishment to power, had been applied with too much truth to Marius and Tiberius ; and was now verified for the third time in the life of Andronicus. His memory was stored with a black list of the enemies and rivals, who had tra-
 duced

duced his merit, opposed his greatness, or insulted his misfortunes ; and the only comfort of his exile was the sacred hope and promise of revenge.

The necessary extinction of the young emperor and his mother imposed the fatal obligation of extirpating the friends, who hated, and might punish the assassin ; and the repetition of murder rendered him less willing, and less able, to forgive. An horrid narrative of the victims whom he sacrificed by poison or the sword, by the sea or the flames, would be less expressive of his cruelty than the appellation of the Halcyon-days, which was applied to a rare and bloodless week of repose : The tyrant strove to transfer, on the laws and the judges, some portion of his guilt ; but the mask was fallen, and his subjects could no longer mistake the true author of their calamities. The noblest of the Greeks, more especially those who, by descent or alliance, might dispute the Comnenian inheritance, escaped from the monster's den : Nice or Prusa, Sicily or Cyprus, were their places of refuge ; and as their flight was already criminal, they aggravated their offence by an open revolt, and the Imperial title. Yet Andronicus resisted the daggers and swords of his most formidable enemies : Nice and Prusa were reduced and chastised ; the Sicilians were content with the sack of Thessalonica ; and the distance of Cyprus was not more propitious to the rebel than to the tyrant. His throne was subverted by a rival without merit, and a people without arms. Isaac Angelus, a descendant in the female line from the great Alexius, was marked as a victim, by the prudence

C H A P. or superstition of the emperor. In a moment of
XLVIII. despair, Angelus defended his life and liberty,
slew the executioner, and fled to the church of St
Sophia. The sanctuary was insensibly filled with
a curious and mournful crowd, who, in his fate,
prognosticated their own. But their lamentations
were soon turned to curses, and their curses to
threats; they dared to ask, " Why do we fear?
" why do we obey? We are many, and he is one;
" our patience is the only bond of our slavery."
With the dawn of day the city burst into a ge-
neral sedition, the prisons were thrown open, the
coldest and most servile were roused to the defence
of their country, and Issac, the second of the name,
was raised from the sanctuary to the throne. Un-
conscious of his danger, the tyrant was absent;
withdrawn from the toils of state, in the delicious
islands of the Propontis. He had contracted an
indecent marriage with Alice, or Agnes, daughter
of Lewis the seventh of France, and relict of the
unfortunate Alexius; and his society, more suit-
able to his temper than to his age, was composed
of a young wife and a favourite concubine. On the
first alarm he rushed to Constantinople, impatient
for the blood of the guilty; but he was astonished
by the silence of the palace, the tumult of the city,
and the general desertion of mankind. Androni-
cus proclaimed a free pardon to his subjects;
they neither desired, nor would grant forgiveness;
he offered to resign the crown to his son Manuel;
but the virtues of the son could not expiate his
father's crimes. The sea was still open for his
retreat; but the news of the revolution had flown
along

along the coast ; when fear had ceased, obedience was no more ; the Imperial galley was pursued and taken by an armed brigantine ; and the tyrant was dragged to the presence of Isaac Angelus, loaded with fetters, and a long chain round his neck. His eloquence, and the tears of his female companions, pleaded in vain for his life ; but, instead of the decencies of a legal execution, the new monarch abandoned the criminal to the numerous sufferers, whom he had deprived of a father, an husband, or a friend. His teeth and hair, an eye and a hand, were torn from him, as a poor compensation for their loss ; and a short respite was allowed, that he might feel the bitterness of death. Astride on a camel, without any danger of a rescue, he was carried through the city, and the basest of the populace rejoiced to trample on the fallen majesty of their prince. After a thousand blows and outrages, Andronicus was hung by the feet, between two pillars that supported the statues of a wolf and sow ; and every hand that could reach the public enemy, inflicted on his body some mark of ingenious or brutal cruelty, till two friendly or furious Italians, plunging their swords into his body, released him from all human punishment. In this long and painful agony, “ Lord have mercy upon me ! and why will you bruise a broken reed ? ” were the only words that escaped from his mouth. Our hatred for the tyrant is lost in pity for the man ; nor can we blame his pusillanimous resignation, since a Greek Christian was no longer master of his life.

I have

C H A P.

XLVIII.

C H A P. I have been tempted to expatiate on the extraordinary character and adventures of Andronicus ; but I shall here terminate the series of the Greek emperors since the time of Heraclius. The branches that sprang from the Comnenian trunk had insensibly withered ; and the male line was continued only in the posterity of Andronicus himself, who, in the public confusion, usurped the sovereignty of Trebizond, so obscure in history, and so famous in romance. A private citizen of Philadelphia, Constantine Angelus, had emerged to wealth and honours, by his marriage with a daughter of the emperor Alexius. His son Andronicus is conspicuous only by his cowardice. His grandson Isaac punished and succeeded the tyrant ; but he was dethroned by his own vices, and the ambition of his brother ; and their discord introduced the Latins to the conquest of Constantinople, the first great period in the fall of the Eastern empire.

Isaac II.
Angelus,
A. D.
1185,
Sept. 12.

A. D.
1204,
April 12.

If we compute the number and duration of the reigns, it will be found, that a period of six hundred years is filled by sixty emperors, including, in the Augustan list, some female sovereigns ; and deducting some usurpers who were never acknowledged in the capital, and some princes who did not live to possess their inheritance. The average proportion will allow ten years for each emperor, far below the chronological rule of Sir Isaac Newton, who, from the experience of more recent and regular monarchies, has defined about eighteen or twenty years as the term of an ordinary reign. The Byzantine empire was most tranquil and prosperous,

sperous, when it could acquiesce in hereditary succession ; five dynasties, the Heraclian, Isaurian, Amorian, Basilian, and Comnenian families, enjoyed and transmitted the royal patrimony during their respective series, of five, four, three, six, and four generations ; several princes number the years of their reign with those of their infancy ; and Constantine the seventh and his two grandsons occupy the space of an entire century. But in the intervals of the Byzantine dynasties, the succession is rapid and broken, and the name of a successful candidate is speedily erased by a more fortunate competitor. Many were the paths that led to the summit of royalty ; the fabric of rebellion was overthrown by the stroke of conspiracy, or undermined by the silent arts of intrigue ; the favourites of the soldiers or people, of the senate or clergy, of the women and eunuchs, were alternately clothed with the purple ; the means of their elevation were base, and their end was often contemptible or tragic. A being of the nature of man, endowed with the same faculties, but with a longer measure of existence, would cast down a smile of pity and contempt on the crimes and follies of human ambition, so eager, in a narrow span, to grasp at a precarious and short-lived enjoyment. It is thus that the experience of history exalts and enlarges the horizon of our intellectual view. In a composition of some days, in a perusal of some hours, six hundred years have rolled away, and the duration of a life or reign is contracted to a fleeting moment ; the grave is ever beside the throne ; the

success

C H A P. success of a criminal is almost instantly followed
 XLVIII. by the loss of his prize; and our immortal reason
 survives and disdains the sixty phantoms of kings
 who have passed before our eyes, and faintly dwell
 on our remembrance. The observation, that, in
 every age and climate, ambition has prevailed with
 the same commanding energy, may abate the sur-
 prize of a philosopher; but while he condemns the
 vanity, he may search the motive, of this universal
 desire to obtain and hold the sceptre of dominion.
 To the greater part of the Byzantine series we can-
 not reasonably ascribe the love of fame and of man-
 kind. The virtue alone of John Comnenus was be-
 neficent and pure; the most illustrious of the prin-
 ces; who precede or follow that respectable name,
 have trod with some dexterity and vigour the crook-
 ed and bloody paths of a selfish policy; in scrutini-
 zing the imperfect characters of Leo the Isaurian,
 Basil the first, and Alexius Comnenus, of Theophi-
 lus, the second Basil, and Manuel Comnenus, our
 esteem and censure are almost equally balanced;
 and the remainder of the Imperial crowd could
 only desire and expect to be forgotten by posterity.
 Was personal happiness the aim and object of their
 ambition? I shall not descant on the vulgar topics
 of the misery of kings; but I may surely observe,
 that their condition, of all others, is the most
 pregnant with fear, and the least susceptible of
 hope. For these opposite passions, a larger scope
 was allowed in the revolutions of antiquity, than
 in the smooth and solid temper of the modern
 world, which cannot easily repeat either the triumph
 of

of Alexander or the fall of Darius. But the peculiar infelicity of the Byzantine princes exposed them to domestic perils, without affording any lively promise of foreign conquest. From the pinnacle of greatness, Andronicus was precipitated by a death more cruel and shameful than that of the vilest malefactor; but the most glorious of his predecessors had much more to dread from their subjects than to hope from their enemies. The army was licentious without spirit, the nation turbulent without freedom; the Barbarians of the East and West pressed on the monarchy, and the loss of the provinces was terminated by the final servitude of the capital.

The entire series of Roman emperors, from the first of the Cæsars to the last of the Constantines, extends above fifteen hundred years; and the term of dominion unbroken by foreign conquest, surpasses the measure of the ancient monarchies; the Assyrians or Medes, the successors of Cyrus, or those of Alexander.

C H A P.
XLVIII.

C H A P.

C H A P. XLIX.

Introduction, Worship, and Persecution of Images.—Revolt of Italy and Rome.—Temporal Dominion of the Popes.—Conquest of Italy by the Franks.—Establishment of Images.—Character and Coronation of Charlemagne.—Restoration and Decay of the Roman Empire in the West.—Independence of Italy.—Constitution of the Germanic Body.

C H A P.
XLIX.

Introduc-
tion of
images in-
to the
Christian
church.

IN the connection of the church and state, I have considered the former as subservient only, and relative to the latter; a salutary maxim, if in fact, as well as in narrative, it had ever been held sacred. The oriental philosophy of the Gnostics, the dark abyss of predestination and grace, and the strange transformations of the Eucharist from the sign to the substance of Christ's body *, I have purposely abandoned to the curiosity of speculative divines. But I have reviewed, with diligence and pleasure, the objects of ecclesiastical history, by which the decline and fall of the Roman empire were

* The learned Selden has given the history of transubstantiation in a comprehensive and pithy sentence. "This opinion is only rhetoric turned into logic." (His Works, vol. iii. p. 2073. in his Table-talk.)

were materially affected, the propagation of Christianity, the constitution of the Catholic church, the ruin of Paganism, and the sects that arose from the mysterious controversies concerning the Trinity and incarnation. At the head of this class, we may justly rank the worship of images, so fiercely disputed in the eighth and ninth centuries; since a question of popular superstition produced the revolt of Italy, the temporal power of the popes, and the restoration of the Roman empire in the West.

C H A P.

XLIX.

The primitive Christians were possessed with an unconquerable repugnance to the use and abuse of images, and this aversion may be ascribed to their descent from the Jews, and their enmity to the Greeks. The Mosaic law had severely proscribed all representations of the Deity; and that precept was firmly established, in the principles and practice of the chosen people. The wit of the Christian apologists was pointed against the foolish idolaters, who bowed before the workmanship of their own hands; the images of brass and marble, which, had *they* been endowed with sense and motion, should have started rather from the pedestal to adore the creative powers of the artist*. Perhaps some recent and imperfect converts of the Gnostic tribe might crown the statues of Christ and St Paul with the profane honours which

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I

they

* Nec intelligunt homines ineptissimi, quod si sentire simulacra et moveri possent, adoratura hominem fuissent a quo sunt expolita. (Divin. Institut. l. ii. c. 2.) Lactantius is the last, as well as the most eloquent of the Latin apologists. Their raillery of idols attacks not only the object, but the form and matter.

CHAP. they paid to those of Aristotle and Pythagoras * ;
 XLIX, but the public religion of the Catholics was uni-
 formly simple and spiritual; and the first notice of
 the use of pictures is in the censure of the council
 of Illiberis, three hundred years after the Christian
 æra. Under the successors of Constantine, in the
 peace and luxury of the triumphant church, the
 more prudent bishops condescended to indulge a
 visible superstition for the benefit of the multi-
 tude; and, after the ruin of Paganism, they were
 no longer restrained by the apprehension of an
 odious parallel. The first introduction of a sym-
 bolic worship was in the veneration of the cross,
 and of relics. The saints and martyrs, whose in-
 tercession was implored, were seated on the right
 hand of God; but the gracious and often super-
 natural favours, which, in the popular belief, were
 showered round their tomb, conveyed an unques-
 tionable sanction of the devout pilgrims, who vi-
 sited, and touched, and kissed, these lifeless remains,
 the memorials of their merits and sufferings†. But
 a memorial, more interesting than the skull or the
 sandals of a departed worthy, is a faithful copy of
 his person and features, delineated by the arts of
 painting or sculpture. In every age, such copies,
 so congenial to human feelings, have been che-
 rished by the zeal of private friendship, or public
 esteem; The images of the Roman emperors were
 adored

* See Irenæus, Epiphanius, and Augustin. (Basnage, *Hist. des Eglises Reformées*, tom. ii. p. 1313.) This Gnostic practice has a singular affinity with the private worship of Alexander Severus. (Lampridius, c. 29.) Lardner, *Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iii. p. 34.)

† See this History, vol. iii. p. 256.; vol. iv. p. 100.; vol. v. p. 123—136.

adored with civil and almost religious honours ; a reverence less ostentatious, but more sincere, was applied to the statues of sages and patriots ; and these profane virtues, these splendid sins, disappeared in the presence of the holy men, who had died for their celestial and everlasting country. At first, the experiment was made with caution and scruple ; and the venerable pictures were discreetly allowed to instruct the ignorant, to awaken the cold, and to gratify the prejudices of the heathen proselytes. By a slow though inevitable progression, the honours of the original were transferred to the copy : The devout Christian prayed before the image of a saint ; and the Pagan rites of genuflexion, luminaries, and incense, again stole into the Catholic church. The scruples of reason, or piety, were silenced by the strong evidence of visions and miracles ; and the pictures which speak, and move, and bleed, must be endowed with a divine energy, and may be considered as the proper object of religious adoration. The most audacious pencil might tremble in the rash attempt of defining, by forms and colours, the infinite Spirit, the eternal Father, who pervades and sustains the universe *. But the superstitious mind was more easily reconciled to paint and to worship the angels, and above all, the

Their
worship

I 2

Son

* Ου γὰρ το Θεοι απλιν υπαρχον και αληπον μορφαις τισι και σχημασι απικαζομεν. οτι κρη και ξυλοι την υπερωσιον και π ροα-
ναρχον υσιαι τιμας ημεις δινησκामεν. (Concilium Nicenum, ii. in
Collect. Labb. tom. viii. p. 1025. edit. Venet.) Il seroit peut-être
à-propos de ne point souffrir d'images de la Trinité ou de la Divi-
nité ; les défenseurs les plus zelés des images ayant condamné celles
ci, et le concil de Trente ne parlant que des images de Jesus
Christ et des Saints, (Dupin, Bibliot. Eccles. tom. vi. p. 154.)

C H A P. Son of God under the human shape, which, on earth, they have condescended to assume. The second person of the Trinity had been cloathed with a real and mortal body ; but that body had ascended into heaven, and, had not some similitude been presented to the eyes of his disciples, the spiritual worship of Christ might have been obliterated by the visible relics and representations of the saints. A similar indulgence was requisite, and propitious, for the Virgin Mary ; The place of her burial was unknown ; and the assumption of her soul and body into heaven was adopted by the credulity of the Greeks and Latins. The use, and even the worship of images, was firmly established before the end of the sixth century ; they were fondly cherished by the warm imagination of the Greeks and Asiatics ; the Pantheon and Vatican were adorned with the emblems of a new superstition ; but this semblance of idolatry was more coldly entertained by the rude Barbarians and the Arian clergy of the West. The bolder forms of sculpture, in brass or marble, which peopled the temples of antiquity, were offensive to the fancy or conscience of the Christian Greeks ; and a smooth surface of colours has ever been esteemed a more decent and harmless mode of imitation *.

The
image of
Edessa.

The merit and effect of a copy depends on its resemblance with the original ; but the primitive Christians

* This general history of images is drawn from the twenty-second book of the *Hist. des Eglises Reformées* of Basnage, tom. ii. p. 1310—1337. He was a Protestant, but of a manly spirit ; and on this head the Protestants are so notoriously in the right, that they can venture to be impartial. See the perplexity of poor friar Pagi, *Critica*, tom. i. p. 42.

Christians were ignorant of the genuine features of the Son of God, his mother, and his apostles: The statue of Christ at Paneas in Palestine * was more probably that of some temporal saviour; The Gnostics and their profane monuments were reprobated; and the fancy of the Christian artists could only be guided by the clandestine imitation of some heathen model. In this distress, a bold and dexterous invention assured at once the likeness of the image and the innocence of the worship. A new superstructure of fable was raised on the popular basis of a Syrian legend, on the correspondence of Christ and Abgarus, so famous in the days of Eusebius, so reluctantly deserted by our modern advocates. The bishop of Cæsarea † records the epistle ‡, but he most strange-

* After removing some rubbish of miracle and inconsistency, it may be allowed, that as late as the year 300, Paneas in Palestine was decorated with a bronze statue, representing a grave personage wrapt in a cloak, with a grateful or suppliant female kneeling before him, and that an inscription—*τῷ Σωτῆρι, τῷ σωσθέντι*—was perhaps inscribed on the pedestal. By the Christians, this group was foolishly explained of their founder, and the poor woman whom he had cured of the bloody flux. (Euseb. vii. 18. Philostorg. vii. 3, &c.) M. de Beausobre more reasonably conjectures the philosopher Apollonius, or the emperor Vespasian: In the latter supposition, the female is a city, a province, or perhaps the queen Berenice. (Bibliothèque Germanique, tom. xiii. p. 1—92.)

† Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 13. The learned Assemanus has brought up the collateral aid of three Syrians, St Ephrem, Josua Stylites, and James bishop of Sarug; but I do not find any notice of the Syriac original or the archives of Edessa. (Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 318. 420. 554;) their vague belief is probably derived from the Greeks.

‡ The evidence for these epistles is stated and rejected by the candid Lardner, (Heathen Testimonies, vol. i. p. 297—309.) Among the herd of bigots who are forcibly driven from this

CHAP. strangely forgets the picture of Christ *; the
 XLIX. perfect impression of his face. on a linen, with
 which he gratified the faith of the royal stranger, who had invoked his healing power, and offered the strong city of Edessa to protect him against the malice of the Jews. The ignorance of the primitive church is explained by the long imprisonment of the image, in a nich of the wall, from whence, after an oblivion of five hundred years, it was released by some prudent bishop, and seasonably presented to the devotion of the times. Its first and most glorious exploit was the deliverance of the city from the arms of Chosroës Nushirvan; and it was soon revered as a pledge of the divine promise, that Edessa should never be taken by a foreign enemy. It is true, indeed, that the text of Procopius ascribes the double deliverance of Edessa to the wealth and valour of her citizens, who purchased the absence and repelled the assaults of the Persian monarch. He was ignorant, the profane historian, of the testimony which he is compelled to deliver in the ecclesiastical page
 of

convenient, but untenable post, I am ashamed, with the Græbes, Caves, Tillemonts, &c. to discover Mr Addison, an English gentleman, (his Works, vol. i. p. 528. Baskerville's edition;) but his superficial tract on the Christian religion owes its credit to his name, his stile, and the interested applause of our clergy.


* From the silence of James of Sarug, (Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. p. 289. 318.) and the testimony of Evagrius, (Hist. Eccles. l. iv. c. 27.) I conclude that this fable was invented between the years 521 and 594, most probably after the siege of Edessa in 540. (Asseman. tom. i. p. 416. Procopius, de Bell. Persic. l. ii.) It is the sword and buckler of Gregory II. (in Epist. i. and Leon. Isaur. Concil. tom. viii. p. 656, 657.) of John Damascenus, (Opera, tom. i. p. 28f. édit. Lequien,) and of the second Nicene Council. (Actio, v. p. 1030.) The most perfect edition may be found in Cedrenus. Compend. p. 175—178.)

of Evagrius, that the Palladium was exposed on the rampart, and that the water which had been sprinkled on the holy face, instead of quenching, added new fuel to the flames of the besieged. After this important service, the image of Edessa was preserved with respect and gratitude; and if the Armenians rejected the legend, the more credulous Greeks adored the similitude, which was not the work of any mortal pencil, but the immediate creation of the divine original. The stile and sentiments of a Byzantine hymn will declare how far their worship was removed from the grossest idolatry. "How can we with mortal eyes contemplate this image, whose celestial splendour the host of heaven presumes not to behold? HE who dwells in heaven condescends this day to visit us by his venerable image; HE who is seated on the cherubim, visits us this day by a picture, which the Father has delineated with his immaculate hand, which he has formed in an ineffable manner, and which we sanctify by adoring it with fear and love." Before the end of the sixth century, these images, *made without bands*, (in Greek it is a single word *,) were propagated in the camps and cities of the Eastern em-

I 4

pire:

* *Αχιροποιήτως*. See Ducange, in Gloss. Græc. et Lat. The subject is treated with equal learning and bigotry by the Jesuit Gretser, (*Syntagma de Imaginibus non Manu factis, ad calcem Codini de Officiis*, p. 289—330.) the ass, or rather the fox, of Ingoldstadt; (see the Scaligerana;) with equal reason and wit by the Protestant Beausobre, in the ironical controversy which he has spread through many volumes of the *Bibliothèque Germanique*; (tom. xviii. p. 1—50. xx. p. 27—68. xxv. p. 1—36. xxvii. p. 85—118. xxviii. p. 1—33. xxxi. p. 111—148. xxxii. p. 75—107. xxxiv. p. 67—96.)

CHAP. XLIX.  Its copies.
 pire*; they were the objects of worship, and the instruments of miracles; and in the hour of danger or tumult, their venerable presence could revive the hope, rekindle the courage, or repress the fury, of the Roman legions. Of these pictures, the far greater part, the transcripts of a human pencil, could only pretend to a secondary likeness and improper title: But there were some of higher descent, who derived their resemblance from an immediate contact with the original, endowed, for that purpose, with a miraculous and prolific virtue. The most ambitious aspired from a filial to a fraternal relation with the image of Edessa; and such is the *veronica* of Rome, or Spain, or Jerusalem, which Christ in his agony and bloody sweat applied to his face, and delivered to an holy matron. The fruitful precedent was speedily transferred to the Virgin Mary, and the saints and martyrs. In the church of Diospolis in Palestine, the features of the mother of God † were deeply inscribed in a marble column: The East and West have been decorated by the pencil of St Luke; and the evangelist, who was perhaps a physician, has been forced to exercise the occupation of a painter, so profane and odious in the eyes

* Theophylact Simocatta (l. ii. c. 3. p. 34. l. iii. c. 1. p. 63.) celebrates the *θραυδικὸν εἰκασμα*, which he stiles *αἰχμη-ποιῶν*; yet it was no more than a copy, since he adds, *αἰχμη-τοῦ τοῦ εἰκόνος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι* (of Edessa) *θεοφανέως τι ἀρετῶν*. See Pagi, tom. ii. A. D. 586. No. 11.

† See, in the genuine or supposed works of John Damascenus, two passages on the Virgin and St Luke, which have not been noticed by Gretser, nor consequently by Beausobre. (Opera Joh. Damascen. tom. i. p. 618. 631.)

eyes of the primitive Christians. The Olympian Jove, created by the muse of Homer, and the chissel of Phidias, might inspire a philosophic mind with momentary devotion: But these Catholic images were faintly and flatly delineated by monkish artists in the last degeneracy of taste and genius*.

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XLIX.

The worship of images had stolen into the church by insensible degrees, and each petty step was pleasing to the superstitious mind, as productive of comfort and innocent of sin. But in the beginning of the eighth century, in the full magnitude of the abuse, the more timorous Greeks were awakened by an apprehension, that under the mask of Christianity, they had restored the religion of their fathers: They heard, with grief and impatience, the name of idolaters; the incessant charge of the Jews and Mahometans †, who derived from the Law and the Koran an immortal hatred to graven images and all relative worship. The servitude of the Jews might curb their zeal and depreciate their authority; but the triumphant Mussulmans, who reigned at Damascus, and threatened Constantinople, cast into the scale of reproach the accumulated weight of truth and victory. The cities of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, had been fortified with the images of Christ, his mother,

Opposition to image worship.

* “Your scandalous figures stand quite out from the canvass: They are as bad as a group of statues!” It was thus that the ignorance and bigotry of a Greek priest applauded the pictures of Titian, which he had ordered, and refused to accept.

† By Cedrenus, Zonaras, Glycas, and Manasses, the origin of the Iconoclasts is imputed to the caliph Yezid and two Jews, who promised the empire to Leo; and the reproaches of these hostile sectaries are turned into an absurd conspiracy for restoring the purity of the Christian worship. (See Spanheim, Hist. Imag. c. 2.)

CHAPTER. mother, and his saints; and each city presumed
 XLIX. on the hope or promise of miraculous defence.

In a rapid conquest of ten years, the Arabs subdued those cities and these images; and, in their opinion, the Lord of Hosts pronounced a decisive judgment between the adoration and contempt of these mute and inanimate idols. For a while Edessa had braved the Persian assaults; but the chosen city, the spouse of Christ, was involved in the common ruin; and his divine resemblance became the slave and trophy of the infidels. After a servitude of three hundred years, the Palladium was yielded to the devotion of Constantinople, for a ransom of twelve thousand pounds of silver, the redemption of two hundred Mussulmans, and a perpetual truce for the territory of Edessa*. In this season of distress and dismay, the eloquence of the monks was exercised in the defence of images; and they attempted to prove, that the sin and schism of the greatest part of the Orientals had forfeited the favour, and annihilated the virtue, of these precious symbols. But they were now opposed by the murmurs of many simple or rational Christians, who appealed to the evidence of texts, of facts, and of the primitive times, and secretly desired the reformation of the church. As the worship of images had never been established by any general or positive law, its progress in the
 Eastern

* See Elmacin, (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 267.) Abulpharagius, (*Dynast.* p. 201.) and Abulfeda, (*Annal. Moslem.* p. 264.) and the criticisms of Pagi, (tom. iii. A. D. 944.) The prudent Franciscan refuses to determine, whether the image of Edessa now reposes at Rome or Genoa; but its repose is inglorious, and this ancient object of worship is no longer famous or fashionable.

Eastern empire had been retarded, or accelerated, by the differences of men and manners, the local degrees of refinement, and the personal characters of the bishops. The splendid devotion was fondly cherished by the levity of the capital, and the inventive genius of the Byzantine clergy, while the rude and remote districts of Asia were strangers to this innovation of sacred luxury. Many large congregations of Gnostics and Arians maintained, after their conversion, the simple worship which had preceded their separation; and the Armenians, the most warlike subjects of Rome, were not reconciled, in the twelfth century, to the sight of images*. These various denominations of men afforded a fund of prejudice and aversion, of small account in the villages of Anatolia or Thrace, but which, in the fortune of a soldier, a prelate, or an eunuch, might be often connected with the powers of the church and state.

Of such adventurers, the most fortunate was the emperor Leo the third†, who, from the mountains
 Leo the Iconoclast, and successors, A.D. 726—840.

* *Αρμενίοις και Αλαμανοίς επίσης ή άγιων ικονων προσκυνησις απηγορευται.* (Nicetas, l. ii. p. 258.) The Armenian churches are still content with the cross: (Missions du Levant, tom. iii. p. 148.) but surely the superstitious Greek is unjust to the superstition of the Germans of the twelfth century.

† Our original, but not impartial monuments, of the Iconoclasts, must be drawn from the Acts of the Councils, tom. viii. and ix. Collect. Labbé, edit. Venet. and the historical writings of Theophanes, Nicephorus, Manasses, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c. Of the modern Catholics, Baronius, Pagi, Natalis Alexander, (Hist. Eccles. Seclum viii. and ix.) and Maimbourg, (Hist. des Iconoclastes,) have treated the subject with learning, passion, and credulity. The Protestant labours of Frederic Spanheim (Hist.

C H A P. tains of Isauria, ascended the throne of the East.

XLIX. He was ignorant of sacred and profane letters ;

but his education, his reason, perhaps his intercourse with the Jews and Arabs, had inspired the martial peasant with an hatred of images ; and it was held to be the duty of a prince, to impose on his subjects the dictates of his own conscience. But in the outset of an unsettled reign, during ten years of toil and danger, Leo submitted to the meanness of hypocrisy, bowed before the idols which he despised, and satisfied the Roman pontiff with the annual professions of his orthodoxy and zeal. In the reformation of religion, his first steps were moderate and cautious ; he assembled a great council of senators and bishops, and enacted, with their consent, that all the images should be removed from the sanctuary and altar to a proper height in the churches, where they might be visible to the eyes, and inaccessible to the superstition of the people. But it was impossible, on either side, to check the rapid, though adverse impulse of veneration and abhorrence : In their lofty position, the sacred images still edified their votaries and reproached the tyrant. He was himself provoked by resistance and invective ; and his own party accused him of an imperfect discharge of his duty, and urged for his imitation, the example of the Jewish king, who had broken, without scruple, the brazen serpent of the temple. By a second edict, he proscribed the existence

(*Historia Imaginarum Restituta*) and James Basnage (*Hist. des Eglises Reformées*, tom. ii. l. xxiii. p. 1339—1385.) are cast into the Iconoclast scale. With this mutual aid, and opposite tendency, it is easy for us to poise the balance with philosophic indifference.

existence as well as the use of religious pictures; the churches of Constantinople and the provinces were cleansed from idolatry; the images of Christ, the Virgin, and the Saints, were demolished, or a smooth surface of plaster was spread over the walls of the edifice. The sect of the Iconoclasts was supported by the zeal and despotism of six emperors, and the East and West were involved in a noisy conflict of one hundred and twenty years. It was the design of Leo the Isaurian to pronounce the condemnation of images, as an article of faith, and by the authority of a general council; but the convocation of such an assembly was reserved for his son Constantine *; and though it is stigmatised by triumphant bigotry as a meeting of fools and atheists, their own partial and mutilated acts betray many symptoms of reason and piety. The debates and decrees of many provincial synods introduced the summons of the general council, which met in the suburbs of Constantinople, and was composed of the respectable number of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops of Europe and Anatolia; for the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria were the slaves of the caliph, and the Roman pontiff had withdrawn the churches of Italy and the West from the communion of the Greeks.

C H A P.
XLIX.

Their synod of Constantinople, A. D. 754.

* Some flowers of rhetoric are *Συνεδον παρανομοι και αδιοι*, and the bishops *τοις ματαιοφροσιν*. By Damascenus it is stiled *ακυρος και αδικτος*, (Opera, tom. i. p. 623.) Spanheim's Apology for the Synod of Constantinople, (p. 171, &c.) is worked up with truth and ingenuity, from such materials as he could find in the Nicene Acts, (p. 1046, &c.) The witty John of Damascus converts *επισκοπος* into *επισκοτος* makes them *κοιλιδαυλας*, slaves of their belly, &c. Opera, tom. i. p. 306.

C H A P. Greeks. This Byzantine synod assumed the rank

XLIX. and powers of the seventh general council; yet

even this title was a recognition of the six preceding assemblies which had laboriously built the structure of the Catholic faith. After a serious deliberation of six months, the three hundred and thirty-eight bishops pronounced and subscribed an unanimous decree, that all visible symbols of Christ, except in the Eucharist, were either blasphemous or heretical; that image worship was a corruption of Christianity, and a renewal of Paganism; that all such monuments of idolatry should be broken or erased; and that those who should refuse to deliver the objects of their private superstition, were guilty of disobedience to the authority of the church and of the emperor. In their loud and loyal acclamations, they celebrated the merits of their temporal redeemer; and to his zeal and justice they entrusted the execution of their spiritual censures. At Constantinople, as in the former councils, the will of the prince was the rule of episcopal faith; but on this occasion, I am inclined to suspect that a large majority of the prelates sacrificed their secret conscience to the temptations of hope and fear. In the long night of superstition, the Christians had wandered far away from the simplicity of the gospel; nor was it easy for them to discern the clue, and tread back the mazes, of the labyrinth. The worship of images was inseparably blended, at least to a pious fancy, with the Cross, the Virgin, the Saints, and their relics: The holy ground was involved in a cloud of miracles and visions; and the

Their
creed.

the nerves of the mind, curiosity and scepticism, C H A P. XLIX. were benumbed by the habits of obedience and belief. Constantine himself is accused of indulging a royal licence to doubt, or deny, or deride the mysteries of the Catholics *, but they were deeply inscribed in the public and private creed of his bishops; and the boldest Iconoclast might assault with a secret horror, the monuments of popular devotion, which were consecrated to the honour of his celestial patrons. In the reformation of the sixteenth century, freedom and knowledge had expanded all the faculties of man; the thirst of innovation superseded the reverence of antiquity, and the vigour of Europe could disdain those phantoms which terrified the sickly and servile weakness of the Greeks.

The scandal of an abstract heresy can be only proclaimed to the people by the blast of the ecclesiastical trumpet; but the most ignorant can perceive, the most torpid must feel, the profanation and downfall of their visible deities. The first hostilities of Leo were directed against a lofty Christ on the vestibule, and above the gate, of the palace. A ladder had been planted for the assault, but it was furiously shaken by a crowd of zealots and women: They beheld, with pious transport, the ministers of sacrilege tumbling from on high, and dashed against the pavement; and the honours of the ancient martyrs were prostituted to these

Their persecution of the image and monks, A. D. 726—775.

* He is accused of proscribing the title of saint; stiling the Virgin, Mother of *Christ*; comparing her after her delivery to an empty purse of Arianism, Nestorianism, &c. In his defence, Spanheim (c. iv. p. 207.) is somewhat embarrassed between the interest of a Protestant and the duty of an orthodox divine.

C H A P. these criminals, who justly suffered for murder
 XLIX. and rebellion *. The execution of the Imperial
 edict was resisted by frequent tumults in Constantinople and the provinces: The person of Leo was endangered, his officers were massacred, and the popular enthusiasm was quelled by the strongest efforts of the civil and military power. Of the Archipelago, or Holy Sea, the numerous islands were filled with images and monks: Their votaries abjured, without scruple, the enemy of Christ; his mother, and the saints: They armed a fleet of boats and gallies, displayed their consecrated banners, and boldly steered for the harbour of Constantinople, to place on the throne a new favourite of God and the people. They depended on the succour of a miracle; but their miracles were inefficient against the *Greek fire*; and, after the defeat and conflagration of their fleet, the naked islands were abandoned to the clemency or justice of the conqueror. The son of Leo, in the first year of his reign, had undertaken an expedition against the Saracens: During his absence, the capital, the palace, and the purple, were occupied by his kinsman Artavasdes, the ambitious champion of the orthodox faith. The worship of images was triumphantly restored: The patriarch renounced his dissimulation, or dissembled his sentiments; and the righteous claim of the usurper was acknowledged, both in the new, and in ancient,

* The holy confessor Theophanes approves the principle of their rebellion, *ὅτι κινεῖσθαι ἔηλθον*. (p. 339.) Gregory II. (in Epist. i. ad Imp. Leon. Concil. tom. viii. p. 661. 664.) applauds the zeal of the Byzantine women who killed the Imperial officers.

cient, Rome. Constantine flew for refuge to his paternal mountains; but he descended at the head of the bold and affectionate Isaurians; and his final victory confounded the arms and predictions of the fanatics. His long reign was distracted with clamour, sedition, conspiracy, and mutual hatred, and sanguinary revenge: The persecution of images was the motive, or pretence, of his adversaries; and, if they missed a temporal diadem, they were rewarded by the Greeks with the crown of martyrdom. In every act of open and clandestine treason, the emperor felt the unforgiving enmity of the monks, the faithful slaves of the superstition to which they owed their riches and influence. They prayed, they preached, they absolved, they inflamed, they conspired; the solitude of Palestine poured forth a torrent of invective; and the pen of St John Damascenus *, the last of the Greek fathers, devoted the tyrant's head, both in this world and the next †. I am

C H A P.

XLIX.


VOL. IX.

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not

* John, or Mansur, was a noble Christian of Damascus, who held a considerable office in the service of the caliph. His zeal in the cause of images exposed him to the resentment and treachery of the Greek emperor; and on the suspicion of a treasonable correspondence, he was deprived of his right hand, which was miraculously restored by the Virgin. After this deliverance, he resigned his office, distributed his wealth, and buried himself in the monastery of St Sabas, between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. The legend is famous; but his learned editor, Father Lequien, has unluckily proved that St John Damascenus was already a monk before the Iconoclast dispute. (Opera, tom. i. Vit. St Joan. Damascen. p. 10—13. et Notas ad loc.)

† After sending Leo to the devil, he introduces his heir—*το μισθρον αυτου γυννημα. και της καμιας αυτου κληρονομιας εν διπλω γινόμενος*, (Opera Damascen. tom. i. p. 625.) If the authenticity of this piece be suspicious, we are sure that in other works, no longer extant, Damascenus bestowed on Constantine the title of *νικη Μωαμειδης Χριστομαχον, μισσαγιοι*, (tom. i. p. 306.)

C H A P. not at leisure to examine how far the monks provoked, nor how much they have exaggerated, their
 XLIX.  real and pretended sufferings, nor how many lost their lives or limbs, their eyes or their beards, by the cruelty of the emperor. From the chastisement of individuals, he proceeded to the abolition of the order; and, as it was wealthy and useless, his resentment might be stimulated by avarice and justified by patriotism. The formidable name and mission of the *Dragon* *, his visitor-general, excited the terror and abhorrence of the *black* nation: The religious communities were dissolved, the buildings were converted into magazines, or barracks; the lands, moveables, and cattle, were confiscated; and our modern precedents will support the charge, that much wanton or malicious havoc was exercised against the relics, and even the books, of the monasteries. With the habit and profession of monks, the public and private worship of images was rigorously proscribed; and it should seem, that a solemn abjuration of idolatry was exacted from the subjects, or at least from the clergy, of the Eastern empire †.

State of
Italy.

The patient East abjured, with reluctance, her sacred images; they were fondly cherished, and vigorously

* In the narrative of this persecution from Theophanus and Cedrenus, Spanheim (p. 235—238.) is happy to compare the *Draco* of Leo with the dragoons (*Dracones*) of Louis XIV.; and highly solaces himself with this controversial pun.

† Προϋρασμα γὰρ ἐξήπαρξεν κατὰ πάσας ἐκκλησίας τῆς ὑπὸ τῆς χι-
 ρος αὐτῆς, πῶς τὰς εἰκόνων καὶ ὀμνύειν τὴν ἀθέτησιν τῆς προσκυνήσεως
 τῶν σικτῶν εἰκόνων, (Damascen. Op. tom. i. p. 625.) This oath and subscription I do not remember to have seen in any modern compilation.

vigorously defended, by the independent zeal of the Italians. In ecclesiastical rank and jurisdiction, the patriarch of Constantinople and the pope of Rome were nearly equal. But the Greek prelate was a domestic slave under the eye of his master, at whose nod he alternately passed from the convent to the throne, and from the throne to the convent. A distant and dangerous station, amidst the Barbarians of the West, excited the spirit and freedom of the Latin bishops. Their popular election endeared them to the Romans; the public and private indigence was relieved by their ample revenue; and the weakness or neglect of the emperors compelled them to consult, both in peace and war, the temporal safety of the city. In the school of adversity the priest insensibly imbibed the virtues and the ambition of a prince; the same character was assumed, the same policy was adopted by the Italian, the Greek, or the Syrian, who ascended the chair of St Peter; and, after the loss of her legions and provinces, the genius and fortune of the popes again restored the supremacy of Rome. It is agreed, that in the eighth century, their dominion was founded on rebellion, and that the rebellion was produced, and justified, by the heresy of the Iconoclasts; but the conduct of the second and third Gregory, in this memorable contest, is variously interpreted by the wishes of their friends and enemies. The Byzantine writers unanimously declare, that, after a fruitless admonition, they pronounced the separation of the East and West, and deprived the sacrilegious tyrant of the revenue and sovereignty

C H A P,
XLIX.
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C H A P. of Italy. Their excommunication is still more
 XLIX. clearly expressed by the Greeks, who beheld the
 accomplishment of the papal triumphs; and as
 they are more strongly attached to their religion
 than to their country, they praise, instead of
 blaming, the zeal and orthodoxy of these aposto-
 lical men *. The modern champions of Rome
 are eager to accept the praise and the precedent;
 this great and glorious example of the deposition
 of royal heretics is celebrated by the cardinals Ba-
 ronius and Bellarmine †; and if they are asked,
 why the same thunders were not hurled against
 the Neros and Julians of antiquity? they reply, that
 the weakness of the primitive church was the sole
 cause of her patient loyalty ‡. On this occasion,
 the effects of love and hatred are the same; and
 the zealous Protestants, who seek to kindle the
 indignation, and to alarm the fears, of princes
 and

* Και την Ρωμην ον παση Ιταλια της βασιλειας αυτη αποστη, says Theophanes, (Chronograph. p. 343.) For this Gregory is stiled by Cedrenus αμε αποσταλικος, (p. 450.) Zonaras specifies the thunder αναθηματι συνοδικω, (tom. ii. l. xv. p. 104, 105.) It may be observed, that the Greeks are apt to confound the times and actions of two Gregories.

† See Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 730, No. 4, 5. dignum exemplum! Bellarmin, de Romano Pontifice, l. v. c. 8. mulctavit eum parte imperii. Sigonius, de Regno Italix, l. iii. Opera, tom. ii. p. 169. Yet such is the change of Italy, that Sigonius is corrected by the editor of Milan, Philippus Argelatus, a Bolognese, and subject of the pope.

‡ Quod si Christiani olim non deposuerunt Neronem aut Julianum, id fuit quia deerant vires temporales Christianis, (honest Bellarmine, de Rom. Pont. l. v. c. 7.) Cardinal Per-ron adds a distinction more honourable to the first Christians, but not more satisfactory to modern princes—the treason of heretics and apostates, who break their oath, belie their coin, and renounce their allegiance to Christ and his vicar, (Perroniana, p. 89.)

and magistrates, expatiate on the insolence and treason of the two Gregories against their lawful sovereign *. They are defended only by the moderate Catholics, for the most part, of the Gallican church †, who respect the saint, without approving the sin. These common advocates of the crown and the mitre circumscribe the truth of facts by the rule of equity, scripture, and tradition; and appeal to the evidence of the Latins ‡, and the lives § and epistles of the popes themselves.

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* Take, as a specimen, the cautious Basnage, (*Hist. de l'Eglise*, p. 1350, 1351.) and the vehement Spanheim, (*Hist. Imaginum*), who, with an hundred more, tread in the footsteps of the centuriators of Magdeburgh.

† See Launoy, (*Opera*, tom. v. pars ii. epist. vii. 7. p. 456—474.) Natalis Alexander, (*Hist. Nov. Testamenti*, secul. viii. Dissert. i. p. 92—96.) Pagi, (*Critica*, tom. iii. p. 215—216.) and Giannone, (*Istoria Civile di Napoli*, tom. i. p. 317—320.) a disciple of the Gallican school. In the field of controversy I always pity the moderate party, who stand on the open middle ground exposed to the fire of both sides.

‡ They appealed to Paul Warnefrid, or Diaconus, (*de Gestis Langobard.* l. vi. c. 49. p. 506, 507. in *Script. Ital.* Muratori, tom. i. pars i.) and the nominal Anastasius, (*de Vit. Pont.* in Muratori, tom. iii. pars i.) Gregorius II. p. 154. Gregorius III. p. 158. Zacharias, p. 161. Stephanus III. p. 165. Paulus, p. 172. Stephanus IV. p. 174. Hadrianus, p. 179. Leo III. p. 195.) Yet I may remark, that the true Anastasius, (*Hist. Eccles.* p. 134. edit. Reg.) and the *Historia Miscella*, (l. xxi. p. 151. in tom. i. *Script. Ital.*) both of the ninth century, translate and approve the Greek text of Theophanes.

§ With some minute difference, the most learned critics, Lucas Holstenius, Schelestrate, Ciampini, Bianchini, Muratori, (*Prolegomena* ad tom. iii. pars i.) are agreed that the *Liber Pontificalis* was composed and continued by the apostolical librarians and notaries of the eighth and ninth centuries; and that the last and smallest part is the work of Anastasius, whose name it bears. The stile is barbarous, the narrative partial, the details are trifling—yet it must be read as a curious and authentic record of the times. The epistles of the popes are dispersed in the volumes of Councils.

C H A P.

XLIX.

Epistles
of Gre-
gory II. to
the em-
peror,
A. D. 727.

Two original epistles, from Gregory the second to the emperor Leo, are still extant *; and if they cannot be praised as the most perfect models of eloquence and logic, they exhibit the portrait, or at least the mask, of the founder of the papal monarchy. "During ten pure and fortunate years," says Gregory to the emperor, "we have tasted the annual comfort of your royal letters, subscribed in purple ink, with your own hand, the sacred pledges of your attachment to the orthodox creed of our fathers. How deplorable is the change! how tremendous the scandal! You now accuse the Catholics of idolatry; and, by the accusation, you betray your own impiety and ignorance. To this ignorance we are compelled to adapt the grossness of our style and arguments: The first elements of holy letters are sufficient for your confusion; and were you to enter a grammar-school, and avow yourself the enemy of our worship, the simple and pious children would be provoked to cast their horn-books at your head." After this decent salutation, the pope attempts the usual distinction between the idols of antiquity and the Christian images. The former were the fanciful representations of phantoms or dæmons, at a time when the true God had not manifested his person in any visible likeness. The latter

* The two epistles of Gregory II. have been preserved in the Acts of the Nicene Council, (tom. viii. p. 651—674.) They are without a date, which is variously fixed, by Baronius in the year 726, by Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 120.) in 729, and by Pagi in 730. Such is the force of prejudice, that some Papists have praised the good sense and moderation of these letters.

latter are the genuine forms of Christ, his mother, and his saints, who had approved, by a crowd of miracles, the innocence and merit of this relative worship. He must indeed have trusted to the ignorance of Leo, since he could assert the perpetual use of images, from the apostolic age, and their venerable presence in the six synods of the Catholic church. A more specious argument is drawn from present possession and recent practice: The harmony of the Christian world supersedes the demand of a general council; and Gregory frankly confesses, that such assemblies can only be useful under the reign of an orthodox prince. To the impudent and inhuman Leo, more guilty than an heretic, he recommends peace, silence, and implicit obedience to his spiritual guides of Constantinople and Rome. The limits of civil and ecclesiastical powers are defined by the pontiff. To the former he appropriates the body; to the latter, the soul: The sword of justice is in the hands of the magistrate; the more formidable weapon of excommunication is entrusted to the clergy; and in the exercise of their divine commission, a zealous son will not spare his offending father; the successor of St Peter may lawfully chastise the kings of the earth. " You assault
 " us, O tyrant! with a carnal and military hand,
 " unarmed and naked, we can only implore the
 " Christ, the prince of the heavenly host, that
 " he will send unto you a devil, for the destruc-
 " tion of your body and the salvation of your
 " soul. You declare, with foolish arrogance, I
 " will dispatch my orders to Rome: I will break

CHAP. " in pieces the image of St Peter ; and Gregory,
 XLIX. " like his predecessor Martin, shall be transported
 " in chains, and in exile, to the foot of the Im-
 " perial throne. Would to God, that I might
 " be permitted to tread in the footsteps of the
 " holy Martin ; but may the fate of Constans
 " serve as a warning to the persecutors of the
 " church. After his just condemnation by the
 " bishops of Sicily, the tyrant was cut off, in
 " the fulness of his sins, by a domestic servant ;
 " the saint is still adored by the nations of Scythia,
 " among whom he ended his banishment and his
 " life. But it is our duty to live for the edifica-
 " tion and support of the faithful people ; nor
 " are we reduced to risk our safety on the event
 " of a combat. Incapable as you are of de-
 " fending your Roman subjects, the maritime
 " situation of the city may perhaps expose it to
 " your depredation ; but we can remove to the
 " distance of four-and-twenty *stadia* *, to the
 " first fortress of the Lombards, and then—you
 " may pursue the winds. Are you ignorant that
 " the popes are the bond of union, the mediators
 " of peace, between the East and West ? The
 " eyes of the nations are fixed on our humility ;
 " and

* Εἰκοσι τέσσαρα στάδια ὑποχρεοῦν ὁ Λεχίμπος Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν χώραν
 τῆς Καμπανίας, καὶ ὑπερὰ διὰ τῆς ἀπείρας, (Epist. i. p. 664.)
 This proximity of the Lombards is hard of digestion. Camillo
 Pellegrini (Dissert. iv. de Ducatū Beneventi, in the Script.
 Ital. tom. v. p. 172, 173.) forcibly reckons the twenty-fourth
 stadia, not from Rome, but from the limits of the Roman
 dutchy, to the first fortress, perhaps Sora, of the Lombards. I
 rather believe that Gregory, with the pedantry of the age, em-
 ploys *stadia* for miles, without much inquiry into the genuine
 measure.

* and they revere, as a God upon earth, the
 “ apostle St Peter, whose image you threaten to
 “ destroy *. The remote and interior kingdoms
 “ of the West present their homage to Christ and
 “ his vicegerent ; and we now prepare to visit
 “ one of their most powerful monarchs, who de-
 “ sires to receive from our hands the sacrament of
 “ baptism †. The Barbarians have submitted to
 “ the yoke of the gospel, while you alone are
 “ deaf to the voice of the shepherd. These pious
 “ Barbarians are kindled into rage ; they thirst to
 “ avenge the persecution of the East. Abandon
 “ your rash and fatal enterprise ; reflect, tremble,
 “ and repent. If you persist, we are innocent of
 “ the blood that will be spilt in the contest ; may
 “ it fall on your own head.”

The first assault of Leo against the images of
 Constantinople had been witnessed by a crowd of
 strangers from Italy and the West, who related,
 with grief and indignation, the sacrilege of the
 emperor. But on the reception of his proscrip-
 tive edict, they trembled for their domestic deities ;
 the images of Christ and the virgin, of the angels,
 martyrs, and saints, were abolished in all the
 churches of Italy ; and a strong alternative was
 proposed

Revolt of
 Italy,
 A. D. 728,
 &c.

* Οἱ αἱ πασαι βασιλῖαι τῆς δυτικῆς αἰ ὅταν ἐπιγῶσι ἐχθροί.

† Ἀπο τῆς ἰωνικῆς δυτικῆς τε λεγομένη Σεπτέτι (p. 665.) The pope appears to have imposed on the ignorance of the Greeks ; he lived and died in the Lateran ; and in his time all the kingdoms of the West had embraced Christianity. May not this unknown *Septetus* have some reference to the chief of the Saxon *Heptarchy*, to Ina king of Wessex, who, in the pontificate of Gregory the second, visited Rome, for the purpose, not of baptism, but of pilgrimage ? (Pagi, A. D. 689, No 2. A. D. 726, No 15.)

CHAP. XLIX. proposed to the Roman pontiff, the royal favour as the price of his compliance, degradation and exile as the penalty of his disobedience. Neither zeal nor policy allowed him to hesitate ; and the haughty strain in which Gregory addressed the emperor displays his confidence in the truth of his doctrine or the powers of resistance. Without depending on prayers or miracles, he boldly armed against the public enemy, and his pastoral letters admonished the Italians of their danger and their duty *. At this signal, Ravenna, Venice, and the cities of the Exarchate and Pentapolis, adhered to the cause of religion ; their military force by sea and land consisted, for the most part, of the natives ; and the spirit of patriotism and zeal was transfused into the mercenary strangers. The Italians swore to live and die in the defence of the pope and the holy images ; the Roman people was devoted to their father, and even the Lombards were ambitious to share the merit and advantage of this holy war. The most treasonable act, but the most obvious revenge, was the destruction of the statues of Leo himself ; the most effectual and pleasing measure of rebellion, was the with-holding the tribute of Italy, and depriving him of a power which he had recently abused

* I shall transcribe the important and decisive passage of the *Liber Pontificalis*. *Respiciens ergo pius vir profanam principis jussionem, jam contra Imperatorem quasi contra hostem se armavit, renuens hæresim ejus, scribing ubique se cavere Christianos, eo quod orta fuisset; impietas talis. Igitur permoti omnes Pentapolenses, atque Venetiarum exercitus contra Imperatoris jussionem restiterunt ; dicentes se nunquam in ejusdem pontificis condescendere necem, sed pro ejus magis defensione viriliter decertare, (p. 156.)*

abused by the imposition of a new capitation *. C H A P. XLIX.
 A form of administration was preserved by the election of magistrates and governors; and so high was the public indignation, that the Italians were prepared to create an orthodox emperor, and to conduct him with a fleet and army to the palace of Constantinople. In that palace, the Roman bishops, the second and third Gregory, were condemned as the authors of the revolt, and every attempt was made, either by fraud or force, to seize their persons, and to strike at their lives. The city was repeatedly visited or assaulted by captains of the guards, and dukes and exarchs of high dignity or secret trust: They landed with foreign troops, they obtained some domestic aid, and the superstition of Naples may blush that her fathers were attached to the cause of heresy. But these clandestine or open attacks were repelled by the courage and vigilance of the Romans; the Greeks were overthrown and massacred, their leaders suffered an ignominious death, and the popes, however inclined to mercy, refused to intercede for these guilty victims. At Ravenna †, the

* A *census*, or capitation, says Anastasius, (p. 156.) a most cruel tax, unknown to the Saracens themselves, exclaims the zealous Maimbourg, (*Hist. des Iconoclastes*. l. i.) and Theophanes, (p. 344.) who talks of Pharaoh's numbering the male children of Israel. This mode of taxation was familiar to the Saracens; and, most unluckily for the historian, it was imposed a few years afterwards in France by his patron Lewis XIV.

† See the *Liber Pontificalis* of Agnellus, (in the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum* of Muratori, tom. ii. pars i.) whose deeper shade of Barbarism marks the difference between Rome and Ravenna. Yet we are indebted to him for some curious and domestic facts—the quarters and factions of Ravenna, (p. 154.) the revenge of Justinian II. (p. 160, 161.) the defeat of the Greeks, (p. 170, 171.) &c.

C H A P. the several quarters of the city had long exercised
XLIX. a bloody and hereditary feud ; in religious controversy they found a new aliment of faction ; but
the votaries of images were superior in numbers or spirit, and the exarch, who attempted to stem the torrent, lost his life in a popular sedition. To punish this flagitious deed, and restore his dominion in Italy, the emperor sent a fleet and army into the Adriatic gulf. After suffering from the winds and waves much loss and delay, the Greeks made their descent in the neighbourhood of Ravenna : They threatened to depopulate the guilty capital, and to imitate, perhaps to surpass, the example of Justinian the second, who had chastised a former rebellion by the choice and execution of fifty of the principal inhabitants. The women and clergy, in sackcloth and ashes, lay prostrate in prayer ; the men were in arms for the defence of their country ; the common danger had united the factions, and the event of a battle was preferred to the slow miseries of a siege. In a hard-fought day, as the two armies alternately yielded and advanced, a phantom was seen, a voice was heard, and Ravenna was victorious by the assurance of victory. The strangers retreated to their ships, but the populous sea-coast poured forth a multitude of boats ; the waters of the Po were so deeply infected with blood, that during six years, the public prejudice abstained from the fish of the river ; and the institution of an annual feast perpetuated the worship of images, and the abhorrence of the Greek tyrant. Amidst the triumph of the Catholic arms, the Roman pontiff convened,

vened a synod of ninety-three bishops against the heresy of the Iconoclasts. With their consent he pronounced a general excommunication against all who by word or deed should attack the tradition of the fathers and the images of the saints; in this sentence the emperor was tacitly involved *, but the vote of a last and hopeless remonstrance may seem to imply that the anathema was yet suspended over his guilty head. No sooner had they confirmed their own safety, the worship of images, and the freedom of Rome and Italy, than the popes appear to have relaxed of their severity, and to have spared the relics of the Byzantine dominion. Their moderate counsels delayed and prevented the election of a new emperor, and they exhorted the Italians not to separate from the body of the Roman monarchy. The exarch was permitted to reside within the walls of Ravenna, a captive rather than a master; and till the Imperial coronation of Charlemagne, the government of Rome and Italy was exercised in the name of the successors of Constantine †.

The

* Yet Leo was undoubtedly comprised in the *si quis imaginum sacrarum destructor extiterit sit extorris a corpore D. N. Jesu Christi vel totius ecclesie unitate*. The canonists may decide whether the guilt or the name constitutes the excommunication; and the decision is of the last importance to their safety, since, according to the oracle, (*Gratian Caus. xxiii. q. 5. c. 47. apud Spanheim, Hist. Imag. p. 112.*) *homicidas non esse qui excommunicatos trucidant*.

† *Compescuit tale consilium Pontifex, sperans conversionem principis, (Anastas. p. 156.) Sed ne desisterent ab amore et fide R. J. admonebat, (p. 157.)* The popes stile Leo and Constantine Copronymus, Imperatores et Domini, with the strange epithet of *Piissimi*. A famous Mosaic of the Lateran (A. D. 798.) represents Christ, who delivers the keys to St Peter and the banner to Constantine V. (*Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 337.*)

C H A P.

XLIX.

CHAP. The liberty of Rome, which had been oppressed

XLIX. by the arms and arts of Augustus, was rescued,
 Republic of Rome. after seven hundred and fifty years of servitude, from the persecution of Leo the Isaurian. By the Cæsars, the triumphs of the consuls had been annihilated: In the decline and fall of the empire, the god Terminus, the sacred boundary, had insensibly receded from the ocean, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates; and Rome was reduced to her ancient territory from Viterbo to Terracina, and from Narni to the mouth of the Tiber *. When the kings were banished, the republic reposed on the firm basis which had been founded by their wisdom and virtue. Their perpetual jurisdiction was divided between two annual magistrates; the senate continued to exercise the powers of administration and counsel; and the legislative authority was distributed in the assemblies of the people, by a well proportioned scale of property and service. Ignorant of the arts of luxury, the primitive Romans had improved the science of government and war; the will of the community was absolute; the rights of individuals were sacred; one hundred and thirty thousand citizens were armed for defence or conquest; and a band of robbers and outlaws was moulded into a nation, deserving of freedom, and ambitious of glory †. When the sovereignty of

* I have traced the Roman dutchy according to the maps, and the maps according to the excellent dissertation of father Beretti, (de Chorographia Italiæ Mediæ Ævi, sect. xx. p. 216. —232.) Yet I must nicely observe, that Viterbo is of Lombard foundation, (p. 211.) and that Terracina was usurped by the Greeks.

† On the extent, population, &c. of the Roman kingdom, the reader may peruse, with pleasure, the *Discours Préliminaire*

of the Greek emperors was extinguished, the ruins of Rome presented the sad image of depopulation and decay ; her slavery was an habit, her liberty an accident ; the effect of superstition, and the object of her own amazement and terror. The last vestige of the substance, or even the forms, of the constitution, was obliterated from the practice and memory of the Romans ; and they were devoid of knowledge or virtue, again to build the fabric of a commonwealth. Their scanty remnant, the offspring of slaves and strangers, was despicable in the eyes of the victorious Barbarians. As often as the Franks or Lombards expressed their most bitter contempt of a foe, they called him a Roman ; “ and in this name,” says the bishop Liutprand, “ we include whatever is base, whatever is cowardly, whatever is perfidious, the extremes of avarice and luxury, and every vice that can prostitute the dignity of human nature *.” By the necessity of their situation, the inhabitants of Rome were cast into the rough model of a republican government : They were compelled to elect some judges in peace, and some leaders in war ; the nobles assembled to deliberate, and their resolves could

to the Republique Romaine of M. de Beaufort, (tom. i.) who will not be accused of too much credulity for the early ages of Rome.

* Quos (*Romanos*) nos, Longobardi scilicet, Saxones, Franci, Lotharingi, Bajoarii, Suevi, Burgundiones, tanto dedignamur ut inimicos nostros commoti, nil aliud contumeliarum nisi Romanæ, dicamus; hoc solo, id est Romanorum nomine, quicquid ignobilitatis, quicquid timiditatus, quicquid avaritiæ, quicquid luxuriæ, quicquid mendacii, immo quicquid vitiorum est comprehendentes, (Liutprand, in Legat. Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars. i. p. 481.) For the sins of Cato or Tully, Minos might have imposed as a fit penance, the daily perusal of this barbarous passage.

C H A P. could not be executed without the union and consent of the multitude. The stile of the Roman senate and people was revived *, but the spirit was fled ; and their new independence was disgraced by the tumultuous conflict of licentiousness and oppression. The want of laws could only be supplied by the influence of religion, and their foreign and domestic counsels were moderated by the authority of the bishop. His alms, his sermons, his correspondence with the kings and prelates of the West, his recent services, their gratitude, and oath, accustomed the Romans to consider him as the first magistrate or prince of the city. The Christian humility of the popes was not offended by the name of *Dominus*, or Lord ; and their face and inscription are still apparent on the most ancient coins †. Their temporal dominion is now confirmed by the reverence of a thousand years ; and their noblest title is the free choice of a people, whom they have redeemed from slavery.

Rome attacked by the Lombards,
A. D.
780—752.

In the quarrels of ancient Greece, the holy people of Elis enjoyed a perpetual peace, under the protection of Jupiter, and in the exercise of the Olympic

* *Tipino regi Francorum, omnis senatus, atque universa populi generalitas a Deo servatæ Romanæ urbis.* Codex Carolin. epist. 36. in Script. Ital. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 160. The names of senatus and senator were never totally extinct; (Dissert. Chorograph. p. 216, 217.) but in the middle ages they signified little more than nobiles optimates, &c. (Ducange. Gloss. Latin.)

† See Muratori Antiquit. Italiz Medii Ævi. tom. ii. Dissertat. xxvii. p. 548. On one of these coins we read Hadrianus Papa (A. D. 772.) on the reverse, Vict. DDNN. with the word *CONOB*, which the Père Joubert (Science des Medailles, tom. ii. p. 42.) explains by *CON*stantinopoli *Officina B* (*secunda*.)

Olympic games *. Happy would it have been for the Romans, if a similar privilege had guarded the patrimony of St Peter from the calamities of war; if the Christians, who visited the holy threshold, would have sheathed their swords in the presence of the apostle and his successor. But this mystic circle could have been traced only by the wand of a legislator and a sage: This pacific system was incompatible with the zeal and ambition of the popes; the Romans were not addicted, like the inhabitants of Elis, to the innocent and placid labours of agriculture; and the Barbarians of Italy, though softened by the climate, were far below the Grecian states in the institutions of public and private life. A memorable example of repentance and piety was exhibited by Liutprand, king of the Lombards. In arms, at the gate of the Vatican, the conqueror listened to the voice of Gregory the second †, withdrew his troops, resigned his conquests, respectfully visited the church of St Peter, and after performing his devotions, offered his sword and dagger, his cuirass and mantle, his silver cross and his crown of gold, on the tomb of the apostle. But this religious fervour was the illusion, perhaps the artifice of the moment; the sense of interest is strong and lasting; the love of

C H A P.
XLIX.

VOL. IX. L arms

* See West's Dissertation on the Olympic Games, (Pindar, vol. ii. p. 32—36. edition in 12mo.) and the judicious reflections of Polybius, (tom. i. l. iv. p. 466. edit. Gronov.)

† The speech of Gregory to the Lombard is finely composed by Sigonius, (de Regno Italix, l. iii. Opera, tom. ii. p. 173.) who imitates the license and the spirit of Sallust or Livy.

CHAP. arms and rapine was congenial to the Lombards ;
 XLIX. and both the prince and people were irresistibly
 tempted by the disorders of Italy, the nakedness
 of Rome, and the unwarlike profession of her new
 chief. On the first edicts of the emperor, they de-
 clared themselves the champions of the holy images:
 Liutprand invaded the province of Romagna, which
 had already assumed that distinctive appellation ;
 the Catholics of the Exarchate yielded without re-
 luctance to his civil and military power ; and a
 foreign enemy was introduced for the first time
 into the impregnable fortress of Ravenna. That
 city and fortress were speedily recovered by the
 active diligence and maritime forces of the Vene-
 tians ; and those faithful subjects obeyed the exhor-
 tation of Gregory himself, in separating the personal
 guilt of Leo from the general cause of the Roman
 empire *. The Greeks were less mindful of the
 service, than the Lombards of the injury : The two
 nations, hostile in their faith, were reconciled in a
 dangerous and unnatural alliance ; the king and
 the exarch marched to the conquest of Spoleto
 and Rome : The storm evaporated without effect,
 but the policy of Liutprand alarmed Italy with a
 vexatious alternative of hostility and truce. His
 successor Astolphus declared himself the equal
 enemy of the emperor and the pope : Ravenna
 was

* The Venetian historians, John Sagorninus, (*Chron. Venet.* p. 13.) and the doge Andrew Dandolo, (*Scriptores Rer. Ital.* tom. xii. p. 135.) have preserved this epistle of Gregory. The loss and recovery of Ravenna are mentioned by Paulus Diaconus, (*de Gest. Langobard.* l. vi. c. 49. 54. in *Script. Ital.* tom. i. pars i. p. 506. 508.) but our chronologists, Pagi, Muratori, &c. cannot ascertain the date or circumstances.

was subdued by force or treachery*, and this final conquest extinguished the series of the exarchs, who had reigned with a subordinate power since the time of Justinian, and the ruin of the Gothic kingdom. Rome was summoned to acknowledge the victorious Lombard as her lawful sovereign; the annual tribute of a piece of gold was fixed as the ransom of each citizen, and the sword of destruction was unsheathed to exact the penalty of her disobedience. The Romans hesitated; they entreated; they complained; and the threatening Barbarians were checked by arms and negotiations, till the popes had engaged the friendship of an ally and avenger beyond the Alps †.

In his distress, the first Gregory had implored the aid of the hero of the age, of Charles Martel, who governed the French monarchy with the humble title of mayor or duke; and who, by his signal victory over the Saracens, had saved his country, and perhaps Europe, from the Mahometan yoke. The ambassadors of the pope were received by Charles with decent reverence; but the greatness of his occupations, and the shortness of his life, prevented his interference in the affairs of Italy, except by a friendly and ineffectual mediation. His son Pepin, the heir of his power and virtues,

C H A P.
XLIX.

Her deli-
verance
by Pepin,
A. D. 754.

L 2

assumed

* The option will depend on the various readings of the MSS. of Anastasius—*deceperat*, or *decerperat*. (Script. Ital. tom. iii. pars i. p. 167.)

† The Codex Carolinus is a collection of the epistles of the Popes to Charles Martel, (whom they stile *Subregulus*,) Pepin and Charlemagne, as far as the year 791, when it was formed by the last of these princes. His original and authentic MS. (Bibliothecæ Cubicularis) is now in the Imperial library of Vienna, and has been published by Lambecius and Muratori. (Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 75, &c.)

CHAPTER XLIX. assumed the office of champion of the Roman church; and the zeal of the French prince appears to have been prompted by the love of glory and religion. But the danger was on the banks of the Tiber, the succour on those of the Seine; and our sympathy is cold to the relation of distant misery. Amidst the tears of the city, Stephen the third embraced the generous resolution of visiting in person the courts of Lombardy and France, to deprecate the injustice of his enemy, or to excite the pity and indignation of his friend. After soothing the public despair by litanies and orations, he undertook this laborious journey with the ambassadors of the French monarch and the Greek emperor. The king of the Lombards was inexorable; but his threats could not silence the complaints, nor retard the speed of the Roman pontiff, who traversed the Pennine Alps, reposed in the abbey of St. Maurice, and hastened to grasp the right-hand of his protector, a hand which was never lifted in vain, either in war or friendship. Stephen was entertained as the visible successor of the apostle; at the next assembly, the field of March or of May, his injuries were exposed to a devout and warlike nation, and he repassed the Alps, not as a suppliant, but as a conqueror, at the head of a French army, which was led by the king in person. The Lombards, after a weak resistance, obtained an ignominious peace, and swore to restore the possessions, and to respect the sanctity, of the Roman church. But no sooner was Astolphus delivered from the presence of the French arms, than he forgot his promise and resented his disgrace. Rome was again encompassed by his arms; and
Stephen,


Stephen, apprehensive of fatiguing the zeal of his Transalpine allies, enforced his complaint and request, by an eloquent letter in the name and person of St Peter himself *. The apostle assures his adoptive sons, the king, the clergy, and the nobles of France, that dead in the flesh, he is still alive in the spirit; that they now hear, and must obey, the voice of the founder and guardian of the Roman church: That the Virgin, the angels, the saints, and the martyrs, and all the host of heaven, unanimously urge the request, and will confess the obligation; that riches, victory, and paradise, will crown their pious enterprise, and that eternal damnation will be the penalty of their neglect, if they suffer his tomb, his temple, and his people, to fall into the hands of the perfidious Lombards. The second expedition of Pepin was not less rapid and fortunate than the first: St Peter was satisfied, Rome was again saved, and Astolphus was taught the lessons of justice and sincerity by the scourge of a foreign master. After this double chastisement, the Lombards languished about twenty years in a state of languor and decay. But their minds were not yet humbled to their condition; and instead of affecting the pacific virtues of the feeble, they peevishly harassed the Romans with a repetition of claims, evasions, and inroads, which they undertook without reflection, and terminated

C H A P.
XLIX.

L 3

without

* See this most extraordinary letter in the Codex Carolinus, epist. iii. p. 92. The enemies of the popes have charged them with fraud and blasphemy; yet they surely meant to persuade rather than deceive. This introduction of the dead, or of immortals, was familiar to the ancient orators, though it is executed on this occasion in the rude fashion of the age.

C H A P. without glory. On either side, their expiring
XLIX.  monarchy was pressed by the zeal and prudence of
 pope Adrian the first, by the genius, the fortune, and
 greatness of Charlemagne the son of Pepin; these
 heroes of the church and state were united in pub-
 lic and domestic friendship, and while they tram-
 pled on the prostrate, they varnished their proceed-
 ings with the fairest colours of equity and mode-
 ration*. The passes of the Alps, and the walls of
 Pavia, were the only defence of the Lombards; the
 former were surprised, the latter were invested,
 by the son of Pepin; and after a blockade of two
 years, Desiderius, the last of their native princes,
 surrendered his sceptre and his capital. Under
 the dominion of a foreign king, but in the pos-
 session of their national laws, the Lombards be-
 came the brethren, rather than the subjects, of the
 Franks; who derived their blood, and manners,
 and language, from the same Germanic origin†.

Conquest
of Lom-
bardy by
Charle-
magne.
A. D. 774.

Pepin and
Charle-
magne,
kings of
France,
A. D. 751.
753. 768.

The mutual obligations of the popes and the
 Carolingian family, form the important link of
 ancient and modern, of civil and ecclesiastical,
 history. In the conquest of Italy, the champions
 of the Roman church obtained a favourable occa-
 sion, a specious title, the wishes of the people, the
 prayers

* Except in the divorce of the daughter of Desiderius, whom Charlemagne repudiated sine aliquo crimine. Pope Stephen IV. had most furiously opposed the alliance of a noble Frank—*cum perfidâ, horridâ, nec dicendâ, foetentissima natione Longobardorum*—to whom he imputes the first stain of leprosy. (Cod. Carolin. epist. 45. p. 178, 179.) Another reason against the marriage was the existence of a first wife. (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 232, 233. 236, 237.) But Charlemagne indulged himself in the freedom of polygamy or concubinage.

† See the *Annali d'Italia* of Muratori, tom. vi. and the three first dissertations of his *Antiquitates Italiae Medii Ævi*, tom. i.

prayers and intrigues of the clergy. But the most essential gifts of the popes to the Carlovingian race were the dignities of king of France *, and of patrician of Rome. I. Under the sacerdotal monarchy of St Peter, the nations began to resume the practice of seeking, on the banks of the Tiber, their kings, their laws, and the oracles of their fate. The Franks were perplexed between the name and substance of their government. All the powers of royalty were exercised by Pepin, mayor of the palace; and nothing, except the regal title, was wanting to his ambition. His enemies were crushed by his valour; his friends were multiplied by his liberality; his father had been the saviour of Christendom; and the claims of personal merit were repeated and ennobled in a descent of four generations. The name and image of royalty was still preserved in the last descendant of Clovis, the feeble Childeric; but his obsolete right could only be used as an instrument of sedition: The nation was desirous of restoring the simplicity of the constitution; and Pepin, a subject and a prince, was ambitious to ascertain his own rank and the fortune of his family. The mayor and the nobles were bound, by an oath of fidelity, to the royal phantom: The blood of Clovis was pure and sacred

C H A P.

XLIX.

L 4

in

* Besides the common historians, three French critics, Lauenoy, (*Opera*, tom. v. pars ii. l. vii. epist. 9. p. 477—487.) Pagi, (*Critica*, A. D. 751, No. 1—6. A. D. 752, No. 1—10.) and Natalis Alexander, (*Hist. Novi Testamenti*, Dissertat. ii. p. 96—107.) have treated this subject of the deposition of Childeric with learning and attention, but with a strong bias to save the independence of the crown. Yet they are hard pressed by the text which they produce of Eginhard, Theophanes, and the old annals, *Laureshamenses Fuldensis*, *Loisiclan*.

CHAP. in their eyes; and their common ambassadors addressed the Roman pontiff, to dispel their scruples, XLIX. or to absolve their promise. The interest of pope Zachary, the successor of the two Gregories, prompted him to decide, and to decide in their favour: He pronounced that the nation might lawfully unite, in the same person, the title and authority of king; and that the unfortunate Childeric, a victim of the public safety, should be degraded, shaved, and confined in a monastery for the remainder of his days. An answer so agreeable to their wishes was accepted by the Franks, as the opinion of a casuist, the sentence of a judge, or the oracle of a prophet: The Merovingian race disappeared from the earth; and Pepin was exalted on a buckler by the suffrage of a free people, accustomed to obey his laws and to march under his standard. His coronation was twice performed, with the sanction of the popes, by their most faithful servant St Boniface, the apostle of Germany, and by the grateful hands of Stephen the third, who, in the monastery of St Denys, placed the diadem on the head of his benefactor. The royal unction of the kings of Israel was dexterously applied *: The successor of St Peter assumed the character of a divine ambassador; a German chieftain was transformed into the Lord's anointed; and this

* Not absolutely for the first time. On a less conspicuous theatre, it had been used, in the sixth and seventh centuries, by the provincial bishops of Britain and Spain. The royal unction of Constantinople was borrowed from the Latins in the last age of the empire. Constantine Manasses mentions that of Charlemagne as a foreign, Jewish, incomprehensible ceremony. See Selden's *Titles of Honour*, in his *Works*, vol. iii, part i. p. 234—249.

this Jewish rite has been diffused and maintained C H A P.
 by the superstition and vanity of modern Europe. XLIX.
 The Franks were absolved from their ancient oath; {
 but a dire anathema was thundered against them
 and their posterity, if they should dare to renew
 the same freedom of choice, or to elect a king,
 except in the holy and meritorious race of the
 Carolingian princes. Without apprehending the
 future danger, these princes gloried in their present
 security: The secretary of Charlemagne affirms,
 that the French sceptre was transferred by the au-
 thority of the popes *; and in their boldest en-
 terprises, they insist, with confidence, on this sig-
 nal and successful act of temporal jurisdiction.

II. In the change of manners and language, Patricians
 the patricians of Rome † were far removed from of Rome.
 the senate of Romulus, or the palace of Constan-
 tine, from the free nobles of the republic, or the
 fictitious parents of the emperor. After the re-
 covery of Italy and Africa by the arms of Justinian,
 the importance and danger of those remote pro-
 vinces required the presence of a supreme magi-
 strate; he was indifferently stiled the exarch or the
 patrician: And these governors of Ravenna, who
fill

* See Eginhard, in *Vita Caroli Magni*, c. i. p. 9, &c. c. iii, p. 24. Childeric was deposed—*jussu*, the Carolingians were established—*auctoritate*, Pontificis Romani. Launoy, &c. pretend that these strong words are susceptible of a very soft interpretation. Be it so; yet Eginhard understood the world, the court, and the Latin language.

† For the title and powers of patrician of Rome, see Ducange, (Gloss. Latin. tom. v. p. 149—151.) Pagi, (Critica, A. D. 740. No. 6—11.) Muratori, (Annali d'Italie, tom. vi. p. 308—329.) and St Marc, (Abrégé Chronologique d'Italie, tom. 1. p. 379—482.) Of these the Franciscan Pagi is the most disposed to make the patrician a lieutenant of the church, rather than of the empire.

CHAP. fill their place in the chronology of princes, extended their jurisdiction over the Roman city.

XLIX.

Since the revolt of Italy and the loss of the Exarchate, the distress of the Romans had exacted some sacrifice of their independence. Yet, even in this act, they exercised the right of disposing of themselves; and the decrees of the senate and people successively invested Charles Martel, and his posterity, with the honours of patrician of Rome. The leaders of a powerful nation would have disdained a servile title and subordinate office; but the reign of the Greek emperors was suspended; and, in the vacancy of the empire, they derived a more glorious commission from the pope and the republic. The Roman ambassadors presented these patricians with the keys of the shrine of St Peter, as a pledge and symbol of sovereignty; with a holy banner, which it was their right and duty to unfurl in the defence of the church and city*. In the time of Charles Martel and of Pepin, the interposition of the Lombard kingdom covered the freedom, while it threatened the safety, of Rome; and the *patriciate* represented only the title, the service, the alliance, of these distant protectors. The power and policy of Charlemagne annihilated an enemy, and imposed a master. In his first visit
to

* The papal advocates can soften the symbolic meaning of the banner and the keys; but the stile of *ad regnum dimisimus, or direximus*, (Codex Carolin. epist. i. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 76.) seems to allow of no palliation or escape. In the MS. of the Vienna library, they read, instead of *regnum, rogum*, prayer or request, (see Ducange) and the royalty of Charles Martel is subverted by this important correction, (Catalini, in his Critical Prefaces *Annali d'Italia*, tom. xvii. p. 95—99.)

to the capital, he was received with all the honours which had formerly been paid to the exarch, the representative of the emperor; and these honours obtained some new decorations from the joy and gratitude of pope Adrian the first *. No sooner was he informed of the sudden approach of the monarch, than he dispatched the magistrates and nobles of Rome to meet him, with the banner, about thirty miles from the city. At the distance of one mile, the Flaminian way was lined with the *schools*, or national communities, of Greeks, Lombards, Saxons, &c.: The Roman youth were under arms; and the children of a more tender age, with palms and olive branches in their hands, chaunted the praises of their great deliverer. At the aspect of the holy crosses, and ensigns of the saints, he dismounted from his horse, led the procession of his nobles to the Vatican, and, as he ascended the stairs, devoutly kissed each step of the threshold of the apostles. In the portico, Adrian expected him at the head of his clergy: They embraced, as friends and equals; but in their march to the altar, the king or patrician assumed the right-hand of the pope. Nor was the Frank content with these vain and empty demonstrations of respect. In the twenty-six years that elapsed, between the conquest of Lombardy and his Imperial coronation, Rome, which had been delivered by the sword, was subject, as his own, to the sceptre of Charlemagne.

The

* In the authentic narrative of this reception, the *Liber Pontificalis* observes—*obviavit illi ejus sanctitas dirigens venerabiles cruces, id est signa; sicut, mos est ad exarchum, aut patricium suscipiendum, cum cum ingenti honore suscipi fecit; (tom. iii. pars i. p. 185.)*

C H A P. XLIX. The people swore allegiance to his person and family: In his name money was coined, and justice was administered; and the election of the popes was examined and confirmed by his authority. Except an original and self-inherent claim of sovereignty, there was not any prerogative remaining, which the title of emperor could add to the patrician of Rome *.

Donations of Pepin and Charlemagne to the popes. The gratitude of the Carlovingsians was adequate to these obligations, and their names are consecrated as the saviours and benefactors of the Roman church. Her ancient patrimony of farms and houses was transformed by their bounty into the temporal dominion of cities and provinces; and the donation of the Exarchate was the first fruits of the conquests of Pepin †. Astolphus with a sigh relinquished his prey; the keys and the hostages of the principal cities were delivered to the French ambassador; and, in his master's name, he presented them before the tomb of St. Peter. The ample measure of the Exarchate ‡ might comprise

* Paulus Diaconus, who wrote before the *empire* of Charlemagne, describes Rome as his subject city—*vestræ civitates, (ad Pompeium Festum,) suis addidit sceptris, (de Metensis Ecclesia Episcopis.)* Some Carlovingsian medals, struck at Rome, have engaged Le Blanc to write an elaborate, though partial dissertation, on their authority at Rome, both as patricians and emperors. (Amsterdam, 1692, in 4to.)

† Mosheim (Institution Hist. Eccles. p. 263.) weighs this donation with fair and deliberate prudence. The original act has never been produced; but the *Liber Pontificalis* represents, (p. 171.) and the *Codex Carolinus* supposes, this ample gift. Both are contemporary records: And the latter is the more authentic, since it has been preserved, not in the papal, but the Imperial library.

‡ Between the exorbitant claims, and narrow concessions, of interest and prejudice, from which even Muratori, (*Antiquitat.*

comprise all the provinces of Italy which had obeyed the emperor and his vicegerent: But its strict and proper limits were included in the territories of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara: Its inseparable dependency was the Pentapolis, which stretched along the Adriatic from Rimini to Ancona, and advanced into the midland country as far as the ridges of the Appenine. In this transaction, the ambition and avarice of the popes had been severely condemned. Perhaps the humility of a Christian priest should have rejected an earthly kingdom, which it was not easy for him to govern without renouncing the virtues of his profession. Perhaps a faithful subject, or even a generous enemy, would have been less impatient to divide the spoils of the Barbarian; and if the emperor had intrusted Stephen to solicit in his name the restitution of the Exarchate, I will not absolve the pope from the reproach of treachery and falsehood. But in the rigid interpretation of the laws, every one may accept, without injury, whatever his benefactor can bestow without injustice. The Greek emperor had abdicated or forfeited his right to the Exarchate; and the sword of Astolphus was broken by the stronger sword of the Carlovingian. It was not in the cause of the Iconoclast that Pepin had exposed his person and army in a double expedition beyond the Alps: He possessed, and might lawfully alienate his conquests; and to the importunities of the Greeks, he piously replied, that

tat. tom. i. p. 63—68.) is not exempt, I have been guided, in the limits of the Exarchate and Pentapolis, by the *Dissertatione Chorographica Italix Medii Ævi*, tom. x. p. 160—180.

CHAPTER. that no human consideration should tempt him to

XLIX. resume the gift which he had conferred on the Roman pontiff for the remission of his sins and the salvation of his soul. The splendid donation was granted in supreme and absolute dominion, and the world beheld, for the first time, a Christian bishop invested with the prerogatives of a temporal prince; the choice of magistrates, the exercise of justice, the imposition of taxes, and the wealth of the palace of Ravenna. In the dissolution of the Lombard kingdom, the inhabitants of the dutchy of Spoleto * sought a refuge from the storm, shaved their heads after the Roman fashion, declared themselves the servants and subjects of St Peter, and completed, by this voluntary surrender, the present circle of the ecclesiastical state. That mysterious circle was enlarged to an indefinite extent, by the verbal or written donation of Charlemagne †, who, in the first transports of his victory, despoiled himself and the Greek emperor of the cities and islands which had formerly been annexed to the Exarchate. But, in the cooler moments of absence and reflection, he viewed, with

* *Spoletini deprecata sunt, ut eos in servitio B. Petri recipere et more Romanorum tonsurari faceret.* (Anastasius, p. 185.) Yet it may be a question whether they gave their own persons or their country.

† The policy and donations of Charlemagne are carefully examined by St Marc, (*Abregé*, tom. i. p. 390—408.) who has well studied the *Codex Carolinus*. I believe, with him, that they were only verbal. The most ancient act of donation that pretends to be extant, is that of the emperor Louis the Pious. (*Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ*, l. iv. *Opera*, tom. ii. p. 267—270.) Its authenticity, or at least its integrity, are much questioned; (*Pagi, A. D. 817, No. 7, &c. Muratori, Annali*, tom. vi. p. 432, &c. *Dissertat. Chorographica*, p. 33, 34.) but I see no reasonable objection to these princes so freely disposing of what was not their own.

with an eye of jealousy and envy, the recent greatness of his ecclesiastical ally. The execution of his own and his father's promises was respectfully eluded: The king of the Franks and Lombards asserted the inalienable rights of the empire; and, in his life and death, Ravenna *, as well as Rome, was numbered in the list of his metropolitan cities. The sovereignty of the Exarchate melted away in the hands of the popes; they found in the archbishops of Ravenna a dangerous and domestic rival †: The nobles and priests disdained the yoke of a priest; and, in the disorders of the times, they could only retain the memory of an ancient claim, which, in a more prosperous age, they have revived and realized.

C H A P.
XLIX.

Fraud is the resource of weakness and cunning; and the strong, though ignorant Barbarian, was often entangled in the net of sacerdotal policy. The Vatican and Lateran were an arsenal and manufacture, which, according to the occasion, have produced or concealed a various collection of false or genuine, of corrupt or suspicious acts, as they tended to promote the interest of the Roman church. Before the end of the eighth century, some apostolical scribe, perhaps the notorious Isidore, composed the decretals, and the donation of
Con-

Forgery
of the
donation
of Con-
stantine.

* Charlemagne solicited and obtained from the proprietor, Hadrian I. the mosaics of the palace of Ravenna, for the decoration of Aix-la-Chapelle, (Cod. Carolin. epist. 67. p. 223.)

† The popes often complain of the usurpations of Leo of Ravenna, (Codex Carolin. epist. 51, 52, 53. p. 200—205.) Si corpus St Andreæ fratris germani St Petri hic humasset, nequaquam nos Romani pontifices sic subjugassent, (Agnellus, Liber Pontificalis, in Scriptores Rerum Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 107.)

C H A P. Constantine, the two magic pillars of the spiritual
XLIX. and temporal monarchy of the popes. This memorable donation was introduced to the world by an epistle of Adrian the first, who exhorts Charlemagne to imitate the liberality, and revive the name of the great Constantine *. According to the legend, the first of the Christian emperors was healed of the leprosy, and purified in the waters of baptism, by St Silvester, the Roman bishop; and never was physician more gloriously recompensed. His royal proselyte withdrew from the seat and patrimony of St Peter; declared his resolution of founding a new capital in the East; and resigned to the popes the free and perpetual sovereignty of Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the West †. This fiction was productive of the most beneficial effects. The Greek princes were convicted of the guilt of usurpation; and the revolt of Gregory was the claim of his lawful inheritance. The popes were delivered from their debt of gratitude; and the nominal gifts of the Carolingians

* *Piissimo Constantino magno, per ejus largitatem S. R. Ecclesia elevata et exaltata est, et potestatem in his Hesperix partibus largiri dignatus est Quia ecce novus Constantinus his temporibus, &c.* (Codex Carolin. epist. 49. in tom. iii. pars ii. p. 195.) Pagi, (Critica, A. D. 324, No. 16.) ascribes them to an impostor of the eighth century, who borrowed the name of St Isidore: His humble title of *Peccator* was ignorantly, but aptly, turned into *Mercator*; his merchandise was indeed profitable, and a few sheets of paper were sold for much wealth and power.

† Fabricius, (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 4—7.) has enumerated the several editions of this Act, in Greek and Latin. The copy which Laurentius Valla recites and refutes, appears to be taken either from the spurious Acts of St Silvester or from Gratian's Decree, to which, according to him and others, it has been surreptitiously tacked.

vingians were no more than the just and irrevocable restitution of a scanty portion of the ecclesiastical state. The sovereignty of Rome no longer depended on the choice of a fickle people; and the successors of St Peter and Constantine were invested with the purple and prerogatives of the Cæsars. So deep was the ignorance and credulity of the times, that the most absurd of fables was received, with equal reverence, in Greece and in France, and is still enrolled among the decrees of the canon law *. The emperors, and the Romans, were incapable of discerning a forgery, that subverted their rights and freedom; and the only opposition proceeded from a Sabine monastery, which, in the beginning of the twelfth century, disputed the truth and validity of the donation of Constantine †. In the revival of letters and liberty this fictitious deed was transpierced by the pen of Laurentius Valla, the pen of an eloquent critic and a Roman patriot ‡. His contemporaries of

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the

* In the year 1059, it was believed (was it believed?) by pope Leo IX. cardinal Peter Damianus, &c. Muratori places (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. ix. p. 23, 24.) the fictitious donations of Lewis the Pious, the Othos, &c. de *Donatione Constantini*. See a Dissertation of Natalis Alexander, *seculum iv. diss. 25. p. 335—350.*

† See a large account of the controversy, (A. D. 1105,) which arose from a private law-suit, in the *Chronicon Farsense*, (*Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. ii. pars ii. p. 637, &c.) a copious extract from the archives of that Benedictine abbey. They were formerly accessible to curious foreigners, (Le Blanc and Mabillon,) and would have enriched the first volume of the *Historia Monastica Italia* of Quirini. But they are now imprisoned (Muratori, *Scriptores R. I.* tom. ii. pars ii. p. 269.) by the timid policy of the court of Rome; and the future cardinal yielded to the voice of authority and the whispers of ambition. (Quirini, *Comment.* pars ii. p. 123—136.)

‡ I have read in the collection of Schardius, (*de Potestate Imperiali Ecclesiastica*, p. 734—780.) this animated discourse, which

C H A P. the fifteenth century were astonished at his sacrilegious boldness; yet such is the silent and irresistible progress of reason, that before the end of the next age, the fable was rejected by the contempt of historians * and poets †, and the tacit or modest censure of the advocates of the Roman church ‡. The popes themselves have indulged a smile at the credulity of the vulgar §; but a false and obsolete title still sanctifies their reign; and by the same fortune which has attended the decretals and the Sibylline oracles, the edifice has subsisted after the foundations have been undermined.

While

which was composed by the author, A. D. 1440, six years after the flight of pope Eugenius IV. It is a most vehement party pamphlet: Valla justifies and animates the revolt of the Romans, and would even approve the use of a dagger against their sacerdotal tyrant. Such a critic might expect the persecution of the clergy; yet he made his peace, and is buried in the Lateran. (Bayle, Dictionnaire Critique, VALLA; Vossius, de Historicis Latinis, p. 580.)

* See Guicciardini, a servant of the popes, in that long and valuable digression, which has resumed its place in the last edition, correctly published from the author's MS. and printed in four volumes in quarto, under the name of Friburgo, 1775. (Istoria d'Italia, tom. i. p. 385—395.)

† The Paladin Astolpho found it in the moon, among the things that were lost upon earth. (Orlando Furioso, xxxiv. 80.)

Di vari fiore ad un grand monte passa,
Ch'ebbe già buono odore, or puzza forte
Questo era il dono (se però dir lece)
Che Constantino al buon Silvestro fece.

Yet this incomparable poem has been approved by a bull of Leo X.

‡ See Baronius, A. D. 324, No. 117—123. A. D. 1191, No. 51, &c. The cardinal wishes to suppose that Rome was offered Constantine, and *refused* by Silvester. The act of donation he considers, strangely enough, as a forgery of the Greeks.

§ Baronius n'en dit gueres contre; encore en a-t'il trop dit, et l'on vouloit sans moi, (*Cardinal du Perron*), qui l'empêchai, censurer cette partie de son histoire. J'en devisai un jour avec le Pape, et il ne me répondit autre chose "che volete? i Canonici la lengono," il le disoit *en riant*. (Perroniana, p. 77.)

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XLIX.

Restoration of
images in
the East
by the
empress
Irene,
A. D. 780,
&c.

While the popes established in Italy their freedom and dominion, the images, the first cause of their revolt, were restored in the Eastern empire*.

Under the reign of Constantine the fifth, the union of civil and ecclesiastical power had overthrown the tree, without extirpating the root, of superstition. The idols, for such they were now held, were secretly cherished by the order and the sex most prone to devotion; and the fond alliance of the monks and females, obtained a final victory over the reason and authority of man. Leo the fourth maintained with less rigour the religion of his father and grandfather; but his wife, the fair and ambitious Irene, had imbibed the zeal of the Athenians, the heirs of the idolatry, rather than the philosophy, of their ancestors. During the life of her husband, these sentiments were inflamed by danger and dissimulation, and she could only labour to protect and promote some favourite monks whom she drew from their caverns, and seated on the metropolitan thrones of the East. But as soon as she reigned in her own name and that of her son, Irene more seriously


M 2

under-

* The remaining history of images, from Irene to Theodora, is collected, for the Catholics, by Baronius and Pagi (A. D. 780—840). Natalis Alexander, *Hist. N. T. seculum viii. Panoplia adversus Hæreticos*, p. 118—178.) and Dupin; (*Biblioth. Eccles. tom. vi. p. 136—154.*) for the Protestants, by Spanheim, (*Hist. Imag. p. 305—339.*) Basnage, (*Hist. de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 556—572. tom. ii. p. 1362—1385.*) and Mosheim. (*Institut. Hist. Eccles. secul. viii. et ix.*) The Protestants, except Mosheim, are soured with controversy; but the Catholics, except Dupin, are inflamed by the fury and superstition of the monks; and even le Beau, (*Hist. du Bas Empire*) a gentleman and a scholar, is infected by the odious contagion.

CHAP. undertook the ruin of the Iconoclasts ; and the

XLIX. first step of her future persecution, was a general

 edict for liberty of conscience. In the restoration of the monks, a thousand images were exposed to the public veneration ; a thousand legends were invented of their sufferings and miracles. By the opportunities of death or removal, the episcopal seats were judiciously filled ; the most eager competitors for earthly or celestial favour, anticipated and flattered the judgment of their sovereign ; and the promotion of her secretary Tarasius, gave Irene the patriarch of Constantinople, and the command of the Oriental church. But the decrees of a general council could only be repealed by a similar assembly * ; the Iconoclasts whom she convened, were bold in possession, and averse to debate ; and the feeble voice of the bishops was re-echoed by the more formidable clamour of the soldiers and people of Constantinople. The delay and intrigues of a year, the separation of the disaffected troops, and the choice of Nice for a second orthodox synod, removed these obstacles ; and the episcopal conscience was again, after the Greek fashion, in the hands of the prince. No more than eighteen days were allowed for the consummation of this important work ; the Iconoclasts appeared, not as judges, but as criminals or penitents ; the scene was decorated by the legates of pope Adrian and the

VIIIth
general
council,
II^d of
Nice,
A. D. 787.
Sept. 24.
---Oct. 28.

* See the Acts, in Greek and Latin, of the second Council of Nice, with a number of relative pieces, in the viiith volume of the Councils, p. 645---1600. A faithful version, with some critical notes, would provoke, in different readers, a sigh or a smile.

the Eastern patriarchs *, the decrees were framed by the president Tarasius, and ratified by the acclamations and subscriptions of three hundred and fifty bishops. They unanimously pronounced, that the worship of images is agreeable to scripture and reason, to the fathers and councils of the church : But they hesitate whether that worship be relative or direct ; whether the Godhead, and the figure of Christ, be entitled to the same mode of adoration. Of this second Nicene council, the acts are still extant ; a curious monument of superstition and ignorance, of falsehood and folly. I shall only notice the judgment of the bishops, on the comparative merit of image-worship and morality. A monk had concluded a truce with the dæmon of fornication, on condition of interrupting his daily prayers to a picture that hung in his cell. His scruples prompted him to consult the abbot. “ Rather than abstain from adoring Christ and his Mother in their holy images, it would be “ better for you,” replied the casuist, “ to enter “ every brothel, and visit every prostitute, in the “ city †.”

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M 3

For

* The pope's legates were casual messengers, two priests without any special commission, and who were disavowed on their return. Some vagabond monks were persuaded by the Catholics to represent the Oriental patriarchs. This curious anecdote is revealed by Theodore Studites, (epist. i. 38. in Sirmond. Opp. tom. v. p. 1319.) one of the warmest Iconoclasts of the age.

† Συμφερον δι ναι μη καταλιπον εν τη πολι ταυτη πορνιοι ως ο μη εισιλθης, η ινα αρνηση το προσκυνην του κυριου ημων και θιον Ιησυν Χριστον μετα της ιδιας αυτου μητρος εν εικονι. These visits could not be innocent, since the Δαιμον πορνειας (the dæmon of fornication) επολυμν δι αυτον . . . εν μια εν ως επικυριε αυτω σφοδρα, &c. Actio iv. p. 901. Actio v. p. 1031.

CHAP. For the honour of orthodoxy, at least, the or-
XLIX. thodoxy of the Roman church, it is somewhat un-
 fortunate, that the two princes who convened
 the two councils of Nice, are both stained with
 the blood of their sons. The second of these
 assemblies was approved and rigorously executed
 by the despotism of Irene, and she refused her
 adversaries the toleration which at first she had
 granted to her friends. During the five succeed-
 ing reigns, a period of thirty-eight years, the con-
 test was maintained, with unabated rage and va-
 rious success, between the worshippers, and the
 breakers of the images ; but I am not inclined to
 pursue, with minute diligence the repetition of the
 same events. Nicephorus allowed a general li-
 berty of speech and practice ; and the only virtue
 of his reign is accused by the monks as the cause
 of his temporal and eternal perdition. Supersti-
 tion and weakness formed the character of Mi-
 chael the first, but the saints and images were in-
 capable of supporting their votary on the throne.
 In the purple, Leo the fifth asserted the name
 and religion of an Armenian ; and the idols, with
 their seditious adherents, were condemned to a
 second exile. Their applause would have sancti-
 fied the murder of an impious tyrant, but his
 assassin and successor, the second Michael, was
 tainted from his birth with the Phrygian heresies :
 He attempted to mediate between the contending
 parties ; and the intractable spirit of the Catholics
 insensibly cast him into the opposite scale. His
 moderation was guarded by timidity ; but his son
 Theophilus, alike ignorant of fear and pity, was
 the

Final es-
 tablish-
 ment of
 images by
 the em-
 press The-
 odora,
 A. D. 842.

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the last and most cruel of the Iconoclasts. The enthusiasm of the times ran strongly against them; and the emperors, who stemmed the torrent, were exasperated and punished by the public hatred. After the death of Theophilus, the final victory of the images was atchieved by a second female, his widow Theodora, whom he left the guardian of the empire. Her measures were bold and decisive. The fiction of a tardy repentance absolved the fame and the soul of her deceased husband: The sentence of the Iconoclast patriarch was commuted from the loss of his eyes to a whipping of two hundred lashes: The bishops trembled, the monk shouted, and the festival of orthodoxy preserves the annual memory of the triumph of the images. A single question yet remained, whether they are endowed with any proper and inherent sanctity; it was agitated by the Greeks of the eleventh century*; and as this opinion has the strongest recommendation of absurdity, I am surprised that it was not more explicitly decided in the affirmative. In the West, pope Adrian the first accepted and announced the decrees of the Nicene assembly, which is now revered by the Catholics as the seventh in rank of the general councils. Rome and Italy were docile to the voice of their father; but the greatest part of the Latin Christians were far behind in the race of superstition. The churches of France, Germany, England, and Spain, steered a middle

M 4

course

Reluc-
tance
of the
Franks.

* See an account of this controversy in the Alexius of Anna Comnena (l. v. p. 129.) and Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. P. 371, 372.)

C H A P. course between the adoration and the destruction
XLIX. of images, which they admitted into their temples,
 and of Charle- not as objects of worship, but as lively and useful
 magne, memorials of faith and history. An angry book
 A. D. 794, of controversy was composed and published in the
 &c. name of Charlemagne *; under his authority a
 synod of three hundred bishops was assembled at
 Frankfort †: They blamed the fury of the Icono-
 clasts, but they pronounced a more severe censure
 against the superstition of the Greeks, and the de-
 crees of their pretended council, which was long
 despised by the Barbarians of the West ‡. Among
 them the worship of images advanced with a silent
 and insensible progress; but a large atonement is
 made for their hesitation and delay, by the gross
 idolatry of the ages which precede the reformation,
 and of the countries both in Europe and
 America, which are still immersed in the gloom
 of superstition.

It

* The *Libri Carolini*, (Spanheim, p. 443—529.) composed in the palace or winter quarters of Charlemagne, at Worms, A. D. 790; and sent by Engebert to pope Hadrian I. who answered them by a *grandis et verbosa epistola*. (Concil. tom. viii. p. 1553.) The Carolines propose 120 objections against the Nicene synod, and such words as these are the flowers of their rhetoric—*dementiam priscae Gentilitatis obsoletum errorem argumenta insanissima et absurdissima derisione dignas nœnias*, &c. &c.

† The assemblies of Charlemagne were political, as well as ecclesiastical; and the three hundred members (Nat. Alexander, sec. viii. p. 53.) who sat and voted at Frankfort, must include not only the bishops, but the abbots, and even the principal laymen.

‡ *Qui supra sanctissima patres nostri (episcopi et sacerdotes) omnimodis servitium et adorationem imaginum renuentes contempserunt, atque consentientes condemnauerunt.* (Concil. tom. ix. p. 101. Canon ii. Frankfurd.) A polemic must be hard-hearted indeed, who does not pity the efforts of Baronius, Pagi, Alexander Mambourgh, &c. to elude this unlucky sentence.

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Final separation of the popes from the Eastern empire, A. D. 774—800.

It was after the Nicene synod, and under the reign of the pious Irene, that the popes consummated the separation of Rome and Italy, by the translation of the empire to the less orthodox Charlemagne. They were compelled to chuse between the rival nations: Religion was not the sole motive of their choice; and while they dissembled the failings of their friends, they beheld, with reluctance and suspicion, the Catholic virtues of their foes. The difference of language and manners had perpetuated the enmity of the two capitals; and they were alienated from each other by the hostile opposition of seventy years. In that schism the Romans had tasted of freedom, and the popes of sovereignty: Their submission would have exposed them to the revenge of a jealous tyrant; and the revolution of Italy had betrayed the impotence, as well as the tyranny, of the Byzantine court. The Greek emperors had restored the images, but they had not restored the Calabrian estates * and the Illyrian diocese †, which

* Theophanes (p. 343.) specifies those of Sicily and Calabria, which yielded an annual rent of three talents and a half of gold, (perhaps 7000*l.* Sterling.) Liutprand more pompously enumerates the patrimonies of the Roman church in Greece, Judæa, Persia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Egypt, and Lybia, which were detained by the injustice of the Greek emperor. (*Legat. ad Nicephorum*, in *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. ii. pars i. p. 481.)

† The great diocese of the Eastern Illyricum, with Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily: (Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 145.) by the confession of the Greeks, the patriarch of Constantinople had detached from Rome the metropolitans of Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, Nicopolis, and Patræ; (Luc. Holsten. *Geograph. Sacra*, p. 22.) and his spiritual conquests, extended to Naples and Amalphi. (Giannone *Istoria Civile di Napoli*, tom. i. p. 517—524. Pagi, A. D. 730, No. 11.

CHAPTER. which the Iconoclasts had torn away from the
 XLIX. successors of St Peter; and pope Adrian threatens
 them with a sentence of excommunication unless
 they speedily abjure this practical heresy *. The
 Greeks were now orthodox, but their religion
 might be tainted by the breath of the reigning
 monarch: The Franks were now contumacious;
 but a discerning eye might discern their approach-
 ing conversion from the use, to the adoration, of
 images. The name of Charlemagne was stained
 by the polemic acrimony of his scribes; but the
 conqueror himself conformed, with the temper of
 a statesman, to the various practice of France and
 Italy. In his four pilgrimages or visits to the
 Vatican, he embraced the popes in the commu-
 nion of friendship and piety; knelt before the
 tomb, and consequently before the image, of the
 apostle; and joined, without scruple, in all the
 prayers and processions of the Roman liturgy.
 Would prudence or gratitude allow the pontiffs
 to renounce their benefactor? Had they a right
 to alienate his gift of the Exarchate? Had they
 power to abolish his government of Rome? The
 title of patrician was below the merit and great-
 ness of Charlemagne; and it was only by re-
 viving the Western empire that they could pay
 their

* In hoc ostenditur, quia ex uno capitulo ab errore reversis, in aliis duobus, in *eadem* (was it the same?) permaneant errore . . . de diocesi S. R. E. seu de patrimoniis iterum increpantes commonemus, ut si ea restituere noluerit hereticum eum pro hujusmodi errore perseverantiâ decernemus; (Epist. Hadrian. Papæ ad Carolum Magnum, in Concil. tom. viii. p. 1598.) to which he adds a reason, most directly opposite to his conduct, that he preferred the salvation of souls and rule of faith to the goods of this transitory world.

their obligations to secure their establishment. By this decisive measure they would finally eradicate the claims of the Greeks from the debasement of a provincial town, the majesty of Rome would be restored: the Latin Christians would be united under a supreme head, in their ancient metropolis; and the conquerors of the West would receive their crown from the successors of St Peter. The Roman church would acquire a zealous and respectable advocate; and, under the shadow of the Carlovingian power, the bishop might exercise, with honour and safety, the government of the city*.

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Before the ruin of paganism in Rome, the competition for a wealthy bishopric had often been productive of tumult and bloodshed. The people was less numerous, but the times were more savage, the prize more important, and the chair of St Peter was fiercely disputed by the leading ecclesiastics who aspired to the rank of sovereign. The reign of Adrian the first † surpasses the measure

Coronation of Charlemagne as emperor of Rome and of the West.
A.D. 800.
Dec. 28.

sure

† Fontanini considers the emperors as no more than the advocates of the church (*advocatus et defensor S. R. E.* See Duncange, *Gloss. Lat. tom. i. p. 97.*) His antagonist, Muratori, reduces the popes to be no more than the exarchs of the emperor. In the more equitable view of Mosheim (*Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 264, 265.*) they held Rome under the empire as the most honourable species of fief or benefice—*premuntur nocte caliginosa!*

† His merits and hopes are summed up in an epitaph of thirty-eight verses, of which Charlemagne declares himself the author. (*Concil. tom. viii. p. 520.*)

Post patrem lacrymans Carolus hæc carmina scripsi.
Tu mihi dulcis amor, te modo plango pater—
Nomina jungo simul titulis, clarissime, nostra
Adrianus, Carolus, rex ego, tuque pater.

The poetry might be supplied by Alcuin; but the tears, the most glorious tribute, can only belong to Charlemagne.

C H A P. sure of past or succeeding ages *; the walls of
 XLIX. Rome, the sacred patrimony, the ruin of the Lombards and the friendship of Charlemagne, were the trophies of his fame: He secretly edified the throne of his successors, and displayed in a narrow space the virtues of a great prince. His memory was revered; but in the next election, a priest of the Lateran (Leo the third) was preferred to the nephew and the favourite of Adrian, whom he had promoted to the first dignities of the church. Their acquiescence or repentance disguised, above four years, the blackest intention of revenge, till the day of a procession, when a furious band of conspirators dispersed the unarmed multitude, and assaulted with blows and wounds the sacred person of the pope. But their enterprise on his life or liberty was disappointed, perhaps by their own confusion and remorse. Leo was left for dead on the ground; on his revival from the swoon, the effect of his loss of blood, he recovered his speech and sight; and this natural event was improved to the miraculous restoration of his eyes and tongue, of which he had been deprived, twice deprived, by the knife of the assassins †. From
 his

* Every new pope is admonished—"Sancte Pater, non vi-
 debis annos Petri," twenty-five years. On the whole series the average is about eight years—a short hope for an ambitious cardinal.

† The assurance of Anastasius (tom. iii. pars i. p. 197, 198.) is supported by the credulity of some French annalists; but Eginhard, and other writers of the same age, are more natural and sincere. "Unus ei oculis paullulum est læsus," says John the deacon of Naples. (Vit. Episcop. Napol. in Scriptores Muratori, tom. i. pars ii. p. 312.) Theodolphus, a contemporary bishop of Orleans, observes with prudence, (l. iii. carm. 3.)

Reddita sunt? mirum est; mirum est auferre nequissè,
 Est tamen in dubio, hinc mirer aut inde magis.

his prison, he escaped to the Vatican ; the duke of Spoleto hastened to his rescue, Charlemagne sympathised in his injury, and in his camp of Paderborn in Westphalia accepted or solicited a visit from the Roman pontiff. Leo repassed the Alps with a commission of counts and bishops, the guards of his safety, and the judges of his innocence ; and it was not without reluctance, that the conqueror of the Saxons delayed till the ensuing year the personal discharge of this pious office. In his fourth and last pilgrimage, he was received at Rome with the due honours of king and patrician : Leo was permitted to purge himself by oath of the crimes imputed to his charge : His enemies were silenced, and the sacrilegious attempt against his life was punished by the mild and insufficient penalty of exile. On the festival of Christmas, the last year of the eighth century, Charlemagne appeared in the church of St Peter ; and, to gratify the vanity of Rome, he had exchanged the simple dress of his country for the habit of a patrician *. After the celebration of the holy mysteries, Leo suddenly placed a precious crown on his head †, and the dome resounded

* Twice, at the request of Hadrian and Leo, he appeared at Rome—*longâ tunica et chlamyde amictus, et calceamentis quoque Romano more formatis*. Eginhard (c. xxiii. p. 109—113.) describes, like Suetonius, the simplicity of his dress, so popular in the nation, that when Charles the Bald returned to France in a foreign habit, the patriotic dogs barked at the apostate. (Gaillard, *Vie de Charlemagne*, tom. iv. p. 109.)

† See Anastasius (p. 199.) and Eginhard, (c. xxviii. p. 124—128.) The unction is mentioned by Theophanes, (p. 399.) the oath by Sigonius, (from the *Ordo Romanus*,) and the pope's adoration *more antiquorum principum*, by the *Annales Bertiniani*. (Script. Murator. tom. i. pars ii. p. 505.)

C H A P. sounded with the acclamations of the people,

XLIX. "Long life and victory to Charles, the most

— "pious Augustus, crowned by God, the great and
"pacific emperor of the Romans!" The head
and body of Charlemagne were consecrated by
the royal unction: After the example of the Cæsars
he was saluted or adored by the pontiff; his
coronation oath represents a promise to maintain
the faith and privileges of the church; and the
first fruits were paid in his rich offerings to the
shrine of the apostle. In his familiar conversation,
the emperor protested his ignorance of the
intentions of Leo, which he would have disappointed
by his absence on that memorable day. But the
preparations of the ceremony must have disclosed
the secret; and the journey of Charlemagne
reveals his knowledge and expectation: He had
acknowledged that the imperial title was the
object of his ambition, and a Roman senate had
pronounced, that it was the only adequate reward
of his merit and services*.

Reign and
character
of Charle-
magne,
A. D.
768—814.

The appellation of *great* has been often be-
stowed and sometimes deserved, but CHARLE-
MAGNE is the only prince in whose favour the
title has been indissolubly blended with the name.

That

* This great event of the translation or restoration of the empire, is related and discussed by Natalis Alexander (secul. ix. dissert. i. p. 390—397.) Pagi, (tom. iii. p. 418.) Muratori, (Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 339—352.) Sigonius, (de Regno Italiæ, l. iv. Opp. tom. ii. p. 247—251.) Spanheim, (de ficta Translatione Imperii) Giannone, (tom. i. p. 395—405.) St Marc, (Abregé Chronologique, tom. i. p. 438—450.) Gaillard. (Hist. de Charlemagne, tom. ii. p. 386—446.) Almost all these moderns have some religious or national bias.

That name, with the addition of *saint*, is inserted in the Roman calendar; and the saint, by a rare felicity, is crowned with the praises of the historians and philosophers of an enlightened age *. His *real* merit is doubtless enhanced by the barbarism of the nation and the times from which he emerged: But the *apparent* magnitude of an object is likewise enlarged by an unequal comparison; and the ruins of Palmyra derive a casual splendour from the nakedness of the surrounding desert. Without injustice to his fame, I may discern some blemishes in the sanctity and greatness of the restorer of the Western empire. Of his moral virtues, chastity is not the most conspicuous †: But the public happiness could not be materially injured by his nine wives or concubines, the various indulgence of meaner or more transient amours, the multitude of his bastards whom he bestowed on the church, and the long celibacy and licentious manners of his daughters,

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* By Mably, (*Observations sur l'Histoire de France*.) Voltaire, (*Histoire Generale*.) Robertson, (*History of Charles V.*) and Montesquieu, (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xxxi. c. 18.) In the year 1782, M. Gaillard published his *Histoire de Charlemagne*, (in 4 vols. in 12mo,) which I have freely and profitably used. The author is a man of sense and humanity; and his work is laboured with industry and elegance. But I have likewise examined the original monuments of the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne, in the fifth volume of the *Historians of France*.

† The vision of Weltin, composed by a monk, eleven years after the death of Charlemagne, shews him in purgatory, with a vulture, who is perpetually gnawing the guilty member, while the rest of his body, the emblem of his virtues, is sound and perfect. (See Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 317—360.)

CHAF. daughters *, whom the father was suspected of

XLIX. loving with too fond a passion. I shall be scarcely permitted to accuse the ambition of a conqueror; but in a day of equal retribution, the sons of his brother Carloman, the Merovingian princes of Aquitain, and the four thousand five hundred Saxons who were beheaded on the same spot, would have something to allege against the justice and humanity of Charlemagne. His treatment of the vanquished Saxons † was an abuse of the right of conquest; his laws were not less sanguinary than his arms, and in the discussion of his motives, whatever is subtracted from bigotry must be imputed to temper. The sedentary reader is amazed by his incessant activity of mind and body; and his subjects and enemies were not less astonished at his sudden presence, at the moment when they believed him at the most distant extremity of the empire; neither peace nor war, nor summer nor winter, were a season of repose: And our fancy cannot easily reconcile the annals of his reign with the geography of his expeditions.

But

* The marriage of Eginhard with Imma, daughter of Charlemagne, is, in my opinion, sufficiently refuted by the *probrum* and *suspicio* that sullied these fair damsels, without excepting his own wife. (c. xix. p. 98—100. cum Notis Sehmincke.) The husband must have been too strong for the historian.

† Besides the massacres and transmigrations, the pain of death was pronounced against the following crimes: 1. The refusal of baptism. 2. The false pretence of baptism. 3. A relapse to idolatry. 4. The murder of a priest or bishop. 5. Human sacrifices. 6. Eating meat in Lent. But every crime might be expiated by baptism or penance: (Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 241—247.) and the Christian Saxons became the friends and equals of the Franks. (Struv. Corpus Hist. Germanicæ, p. 133.)

But this activity was a national, rather than a personal virtue ; the vagrant life of a Frank was spent in the chase, in pilgrimage, in military adventures ; and the journies of Charlemagne were distinguished only by a more numerous train and a more important purpose. His military renown must be tried by the scrutiny of his troops, his enemies, and his actions. Alexander conquered with the arms of Philip, but the *two* heroes who preceded Charlemagne bequeathed him their name, their examples, and the companions of their victories. At the head of his veteran and superior armies, he oppressed the savage or degenerate nations, who were incapable of confederating for their common safety ; nor did he ever encounter an equal antagonist in numbers, in discipline, or in arms. The science of war has been lost and revived with the arts of peace ; but his campaigns are not illustrated by any siege or battle of singular difficulty and success ; and he might behold, with envy, the Saracen trophies of his grandfather. After his Spanish expedition, his rear guard was defeated in the Pyrenæan mountains ; and the soldiers, whose situation was irretrievable, and whose valour was useless, might accuse, with their last breath, the want of skill or caution of their general *. I touch, with reverence, the laws of Charlemagne, so highly ap-
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* In this action, the famous Rutland, Rolando, Orlando, was slain—cum pluribus aliis. See the truth in Eginhard, (c. 9. p. 51—56.) and the fable in an ingenious Supplement of M. Gaillard, (tom. iii. p. 474.) The Spaniards are too proud of a victory which history ascribes to the Gascons, and romance to the Saracens.

CHAP. plauded by a respectable judge. They compose
 XLIX. not a system, but a series, of occasional and minute edicts, for the correction of abuses, the reformation of manners, the œconomy of his farms, the care of his poultry, and even the sale of his eggs. He wished to improve the laws and the character of the Franks; and his attempts, however feeble and imperfect, are deserving of praise: The inveterate evils of the times were suspended or mollified by his government*; but in his institutions I can seldom discover the general views and the immortal spirit of a legislator, who survives himself for the benefit of posterity. The union and stability of his empire depended on the life of a single man: He imitated the dangerous practice of dividing his kingdoms among his sons; and, after his numerous diets, the whole constitution was left to fluctuate between the disorders of anarchy and despotism. His esteem for the piety and knowledge of the clergy tempted him to entrust that aspiring order with temporal dominion and civil jurisdiction; and his son Lewis, when he was stripped and degraded by the bishops, might accuse, in some measure, the imprudence of his father. His laws enforced the imposition of tithes, because the dæmons had proclaimed in the air, that the default of payment had been the cause of the last scarcity†. The literary merits
 of

* Yet Schmidt, from the best authorities, represents the interior disorders and oppression of his reign, (*Hist. des Allemands*, tom. ii. p. 45—49.)

† Omnis homo ex sua proprietate legitimam decimam ad ecclesiam conferat. Experimento enim didicimus, in anno, quo illa valida

of Charlemagne are attested by the foundation of schools, the introduction of arts, the works which were published in his name, and his familiar connection with the subjects and strangers whom he invited to his court to educate both the prince and people. His own studies were tardy, laborious, and imperfect; if he spoke Latin, and understood Greek, he derived the rudiments of knowledge from conversation, rather than from books; and, in his mature age, the emperor strove to acquire the practice of writing, which every peasant now learns in his infancy *. The grammar and logic, the music and astronomy, of the times, were only cultivated as the handmaids of superstition; but the curiosity of the human mind must ultimately tend to its improvement; and the encouragement of learning reflects the purest and most pleasing lustre on the character of Charlemagne †. The dignity of his person ‡,

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the

valida fames irrepsit, ebullire vacuas annonas a dæmonibus devoratas, et voces exprobationis auditas. Such is the decree and assertion of the great Council of Frankfort, (canon xxv. tom. ix. p. 105.) Both Selden (*Hist. of Tithes; Works*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 1146.) and Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xxxi. c. 12.) represent Charlemagne as the first *legal* author of tithes. Such obligations have country gentlemen to his memory!

* Eginhard (c. 25 p. 119.) clearly affirms, *tentabat et scribere . . . sed parum prospere successit labor præposterus et sero inchoatus.* The moderns have perverted and corrected this obvious meaning, and the title of M. Gaillard's Dissertation (tom. iii. p. 247—260.) betrays his partiality.

† See Gaillard, tom. iii. p. 138—176. and Schmidt, tom. ii. p. 121—129.

‡ M. Gaillard (tom. iii. p. 372.) fixes the true stature of Charlemagne (see a Dissertation of Marquard Freher ad calcem Eginhard, p. 220, &c.) at five feet nine inches of French, about six feet one inch and a fourth English measure. The romance writers

C H A P. the length of his reign, the prosperity of his arms,
 XLIX. the vigour of his government, and the reverence
 of distant nations, distinguish him from the royal
 crowd; and Europe dates a new æra from his re-
 storation of the Western empire.

Extent of
 his em-
 pire in
 France.

That empire was not unworthy of its title *; and some of the fairest kingdoms of Europe were the patrimony or conquest of a prince, who reigned at the same time in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Hungary †. I. The Roman province of Gaul had been transformed into the name and monarchy of FRANCE; but, in the decay of the Merovingian line, its limits were contracted by the independence of the *Britons* and the revolt of *Aquitain*. Charlemagne pursued, and confined, the Britons on the shores of the ocean; and that ferocious tribe, whose origin and language are so different from the French, was chastised by the imposition of tribute, hostages, and peace. After a long and evasive contest, the rebellion of the dukes

writers have it increased it to eight feet, and the giant was endowed with matchless strength and appetite: At a single stroke of his good sword *Joyeuse*, he cut asunder an horseman and his horse; at a single repast he devoured a goose, two fowls, a quarter of mutton, &c.

* See the concise, but correct and original work, of d'Anville, (*États formés en Europe après la Chute de l'Empire Romain en Occident*, Paris, 1771, in 4to,) whose map includes the empire of Charlemagne; the different parts are illustrated, by Valesius (*Notitia Galliarum*) for France, Beretti (*Dissertatio Chorographica*) for Italy, de Marca (*Marca Hispanica*) for Spain. For the middle geography of Germany, I confess myself poor and destitute.

† After a brief relation of his wars and conquests, (Vit. Carol. c. 5—14.) Eginhard recapitulates, in a few words, (c. 15.) the countries subject to his empire. Struvius (*Corpus Hist. German.* p. 118—149.) has inserted in his Notes the texts of the old Chronicles.

dukes of Aquitain was punished by the forfeiture of their province, their liberty, and their lives. Harsh and rigorous would have been such treatment of ambitious governors, who had too faithfully copied the mayors of the palace. But a recent discovery* has proved that these unhappy princes were the last and lawful heirs of the blood and sceptre of Clovis, a younger branch, from the brother of Dagobert, of the Merovingian house. Their ancient kingdom was reduced to the duchy of Gascogne, to the counties of Fesenzac and Armagnac, at the foot of the Pyrenees: Their race was propagated till the beginning of the sixteenth century; and, after surviving their Carlovingian tyrants, they were reserved to feel the injustice, or the favours, of a third dynasty. By the re-union of Aquitain, France was enlarged to its present boundaries, with the additions of the Netherlands and Spain, as far as the Rhine. II. The Saracens had been expelled from France by the grandfather and father of Charlemagne; but they still possessed the greatest part of SPAIN, from the rock of Gibraltar to the Pyrenees. Amidst their civil divisions, an Arabian emir of Saragossa implored his protection in the diet of Paderborn. Charlemagne undertook the expedition, restored the emir, and, without dis-

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Spain.

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tinction

* Of a charter granted to the monastery of Alacon (A. D. 845) by Charles the Bald, which deduces this royal pedigree. I doubt whether some subsequent links of the ixth and xth centuries are equally firm; yet the whole is approved and defended by M. Gaillard. (tom. ii. p. 60—81. 203—206.) who affirms, that the family of Montesquieu (not of the president de Montesquieu) is descended, in the female line, from Clotaire and Clovis—an innocent pretension!

CHAP. tinction of faith, impartially crushed the resistance
 XLIX. of the Christians, and rewarded the obedience and
 service of the Mahometans. In his absence he
 instituted the *Spanish march* *, which extended
 from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro: Barcelona
 was the residence of the French governor: He pos-
 sessed the counties of *Rousillon* and *Catalonia*; and
 the infant kingdoms of *Navarre* and *Arragon* were
 Italy. subject to his jurisdiction. III. As king of the
 Lombards, and patrician of Rome, he reigned
 over the greatest part of ITALY †, a tract of a
 thousand miles from the Alps to the borders of
 Calabria. The duchy of *Beneventum*, a Lombard
 fief, had spread, at the expence of the Greeks, over
 the modern kingdom of Naples. But *Arrechis*,
 the reigning duke, refused to be included in the
 slavery of his country; assumed the independent
 title of prince; and opposed his sword to the Car-
 lovingian monarchy. His defence was firm, his
 submission was not inglorious, and the emperor
 was content with an easy tribute, the demolition
 of his fortresses, and the acknowledgment, on his
 coins, of a supreme lord. The artful flattery of
 his son *Grimoald* added the appellation of father,
 but he asserted his dignity with prudence, and Bene-
 ventum

* The governors or counts of the Spanish march revolted from Charles the Simple about the year 900; and a poor pitance, the Rousillon, has been recovered in 1642 by the kings of France, (Longuerue, *Description de la France*, tom. i. p. 220—222.) Yet the Rousillon contains 188,900 subjects, and annually pays 2,600,000 livres; (Necker, *Administration des Finances*, tom. i. p. 278, 279.) more people perhaps, and doubtless more money, than the march of Charlemagne.

† Schmidt, *Hist. des Allemands*, tom. ii. p. 200, &c.

ventum insensibly escaped from the French yoke*. C H A P. XLIX.
 IV. Charlemagne was the first who united GER-
 MANY under the same sceptre. The name of *Oriental France* is preserved in the circle of *Franconia*; Germany.
 and the people of *Hesse* and *Thuringia* were recently incorporated with the victors, by the conformity of religion and government. The *Aleman- ni*, so formidable to the Romans, were the faithful vassals and confederates of the Franks; and their country was inscribed within the modern limits of *Alsace*, *Swabia*, and *Switzerland*. The *Bavarians*, with a similar indulgence of their laws and manners, were less patient of a master; the repeated treasons of Tasilo justified the abolition of her hereditary dukes; and their power was shared among the counts, who judged and guarded that important frontier. But the north of Germany, from the Rhine and beyond the Elbe, was still hostile and Pagan; nor was it till after a war of thirty-three years, that the Saxons bowed under the yoke of Christ and of Charlemagne. The idols and their votaries were extirpated: The foundation of eight bishoprics, of Munster, Osnaburgh, Paderborn, and Minden, of Bremen, Verden, Hildesheim, and Halberstadt, define, on either side of the Weser, the bounds of ancient Saxony; these episcopal seats were the first schools and cities of that savage land; and the religion and humanity of the children atoned, in some degree, for the massacre of the parents. Beyond the Elbe, the *Slavi*, or Slavonians, of similar manners and various denominations,

N 4 overspread

* See Giannone, tom. i. p. 374, 375. and the Annals of Muratori.

C H A P. overspread the modern dominions of Prussia, Poland, and Bohemia, and some transient marks of obedience have tempted the French historian to extend the empire to the Baltic and the Vistula. The conquest or conversion of those countries is of a more recent age ; but the first union of *Bobemia* with the Germanic body may be justly ascribed to the arms of Charlemagne. V. He retaliated on the Avars, or Huns of Pannonia, the same calamities which they had inflicted on the nations. Their rings, the wooden fortifications which encircled their districts and villages, were broken down by the triple effort of a French army, that was poured into their country by land and water, through the Carpathian mountains, and along the plain of the Danube. After a bloody conflict of eight years, the loss of some French generals was avenged by the slaughter of the most noble Huns: The relics of the nation submitted ; the royal residence of the chagan was left desolate and unknown ; and the treasures, the rapine of two hundred and fifty years, enriched the victorious troops, or decorated the churches of Italy and Gaul *. After the reduction of Pannonia, the empire of Charlemagne was bounded only by the conflux of the Danube with the Teyss and the Save: The provinces of Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia,

* Quot prælia in eo gesta ! quantum sanguinis effusum sit ! Testatur vacua omni habitatione Pannonia, et locus in quo regia Cagani fuit ita desertus, ut ne vestigium quidem humanæ habitationis appareat. Tota in hoc bello Hunnorum nobilitas periit, tota gloria decidit, omnis pecunia et congesti ex longo tempore thesauri direpti sunt.

matia, were an easy, though unprofitable, accession ; and it was an effect of his moderation, that he left the maritime cities under the real or nominal sovereignty of the Greeks. But these distant possessions added more to the reputation than to the power of the Latin emperor ; nor did he risk any ecclesiastical foundations to reclaim the Barbarians from their vagrant life and idolatrous worship. Some canals of communication between the rivers, the Saône and the Meuse, the Rhine and the Danube, were faintly attempted *. Their execution would have vivified the empire ; and more cost and labour were often wasted in the structure of a cathedral.

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If we retrace the outlines of this geographical picture, it will be seen, that the empire of the Franks extended, between east and west, from the Ebro to the Elbe or Vistula ; between the north and south, from the duchy of Beneventum to the river Eyder, the perpetual boundary of Germany and Denmark. The personal and political importance of Charlemagne was magnified by the distress and division of the rest of Europe. The islands of Great Britain and Ireland were disputed by a crowd of princes of Saxon or Scottish origin ; and, after the loss of Spain, the Christian and Gothic

His neighbours and enemies.

* The junction of the Rhine and Danube was undertaken only for the service of the Pannonian war, (Gaillard, Vie de Charlemagne, tom. ii. p. 312—315.) The canal, which would have been only two leagues in length, and of which some traces are still extant in Swabia, was interrupted by excessive rains, military avocations, and superstitious fears, (Schæpflin, Hist. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xviii. p. 256. *Monimenta fluviorum, &c. jungendorum*, p. 59—62.)

CHAP. this kingdom of Alphonso the Chaste, was confined to the narrow range of the Asturian mountains. These petty sovereigns revered the power or virtue of the Carolingian monarch, implored the honour and support of his alliance, and stiled him their common parent, the sole and supreme emperor of the West *. He maintained a more equal intercourse with the caliph Harun al Rashid †, whose dominion stretched from Africa to India, and accepted from his ambassadors a tent, a water-clock, an elephant, and the keys of the Holy Sepulchre. It is not easy to conceive the private friendship of a Frank and an Arab, who were strangers to each other's person, and language, and religion; but their public correspondence was founded on vanity, and their remote situation left no room for a competition of interest. Two-thirds of the Western empire of Rome were subject to Charlemagne, and the deficiency was amply supplied by his command of the inaccessible or invincible nations of Germany. But in the choice of his enemies, we may be reasonably surprised that he so often preferred the poverty of the north to the riches of the south. The thirty-three campaigns laboriously consumed in the woods and morasses of Germany, would have sufficed to assert the

* See Eginhard, c. 16. and Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 361—385. who mentions, with a loose reference, the intercourse of Charlemagne and Egbert, the emperor's gift of his own sword, and the modest answer of his Saxon disciple. The anecdote, if genuine, would have adorned our English histories.

† The correspondence is mentioned only in the French annals, and the Orientals are ignorant of the caliph's friendship for the *Christian dog*—a polite appellation, which Harun bestows on the emperor of the Greeks.

the amplitude of his title by the expulsion of the Greeks from Italy and the Saracens from Spain. C H A P. XLIX.

The weakness of the Greeks would have ensured an easy victory: And the holy crusade against the Saracens would have been prompted by glory and revenge, and loudly justified by religion and policy. Perhaps, in his expeditions beyond the Rhine and the Elbe, he aspired to save his monarchy from the fate of the Roman empire, to disarm the enemies of civilized society, and to eradicate the seed of future emigrations. But it has been wisely observed, that in a light of precaution, all conquest must be ineffectual, unless it could be universal; since the increasing circle must be involved in a larger sphere of hostility *. The subjugation of Germany withdrew the veil which had so long concealed the continent or islands of Scandinavia from the knowledge of Europe, and awakened the torpid courage of their barbarous natives. The fiercest of the Saxon idolaters escaped from the Christian tyrant to their brethren of the north; the Ocean and Mediterranean were covered with their piratical fleets; and Charlemagne beheld with a sigh the destructive progress of the Normans, who, in less than seventy years, precipitated the fall of his race and monarchy.

Had the pope and the Romans revived the primitive constitution, the titles of emperor and Augustus were conferred on Charlemagne for the His successors,
A. D.
814—887,
in Italy;
term

* Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 361—365. 471—476. 492. I have borrowed his judicious remarks on Charlemagne's plan of conquest, and the judicious distinction of his enemies of the first and the second *enccinte*, (tom. ii. p. 184. 509, &c.)

C H A P. term of his life; and his successors, on each va-
XLIX. cancy, must have ascended the throne by a formal
 or tacit election. But the association of his son
 Lewis the Pious asserts the independent right of
 monarchy and conquest, and the emperor seems
 on this occasion to have foreseen and prevented the
 latent claims of the clergy. The royal youth was
 commanded to take the crown from the altar, and
 with his own hands to place it on his head, as a
 gift which he held from God, his father, and the
 nation *. The same ceremony was repeated,
 though with less energy, in the subsequent associa-
 tions of Lothaire and Lewis the second; the Car-
 lovingian sceptre was transmitted from father to
 son in a lineal descent of four generations; and the
 ambition of the popes was reduced to the empty
 honour of crowning and anointing these hereditary
 princes who were already invested with their pow-
 er and dominion. The pious Lewis survived his
 brothers, and embraced the whole empire of Char-
 lemagne; but the nations and the nobles, his
 bishops and his children, quickly discerned that
 this mighty mass was no longer inspired by the
 same soul; and the foundations were undermined
 to the centre, while the external surface was yet
 fair and entire. After a war, or battle, which con-
 sumed one hundred thousand Franks, the empire
 was

Lewis the
 Pious,
 A. D.
 814—840.

* Thegan, the biographer of Lewis, relates this coronation; and Baronius has honestly transcribed it, (A. D. 813, No. 13, &c. See Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 506, 507, 508.) howsoever adverse to the claims of the popes. For the series of the Carlovingians, see the historians of France, Italy, and Germany; Pffefel, Schmidt, Velly, Muratori, and even Voltaire, whose pictures are sometimes just and always pleasing.

was divided by treaty between his three sons, who had violated every filial and fraternal duty. The kingdoms of Germany and France were for ever separated; the provinces of Gaul, between the Rhone and the Alps, the Meuse and the Rhine, were assigned, with Italy, to the Imperial dignity of Lothaire. In the partition of his share, Lorraine and Arles, two recent and transitory kingdoms, were bestowed on the younger children; and Lewis the second, his eldest son, was content with the realm of Italy, the proper and sufficient patrimony of a Roman emperor. On his death without any male issue, the vacant throne was disputed by his uncles and cousins, and the popes most dexterously seized the occasion of judging the claims and merits of the candidates, and of bestowing on the most obsequious or most liberal, the Imperial office of advocate of the Roman church. The dregs of the Carlovingian race no longer exhibited any symptoms of virtue or power, and the ridiculous epithets of the *bald*, the *stammerer*, the *fat*, and the *simple*, distinguished the tame and uniform features of a crowd of kings alike deserving of oblivion. By the failure of the collateral branches, the whole inheritance devolved to Charles the Fat, the last emperor of his family; his insanity authorised the desertion of Germany, Italy, and France: He was deposed in a diet, and solicited his daily bread from the rebels, by whose contempt his life and liberty had been spared. According to the measure of their force, the governors, the bishops, and the lords, usurped the fragments of the falling empire; and some preference was shewn to the female or illegitimate blood

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Lothaire I.

A. D.

840—856.

Lewis II.

A. D.

856—875.

Division
of the
empire,
A. D. 888.

C H A P. blood of Charlemagne. Of the greater part, the
XLIX. title and possession were alike doubtful, and the
 merit was adequate to the contracted scale of
 their dominions. Those who could appear with
 an army at the gates of Rome were crowned em-
 perors in the Vatican; but their modesty was more
 frequently satisfied with the appellation of kings
 of Italy; and the whole term of seventy-four years
 may be deemed a vacancy, from the abdication of
 Charles the Fat to the establishment of Otho the
 first.

Otho
 king of
 Germany
 restores
 and ap-
 propriates
 the West-
 ern em-
 pire,
 A. D. 962.

Otho * was of the noble race of the dukes of Saxony; and if he truly descended from Witikind, the adversary and proselyte of Charlemagne, the posterity of a vanquished people was exalted to reign over their conquerors. His father Henry the Fowler was elected, by the suffrage of the nation, to save and institute the kingdom of Germany. Its limits † were enlarged on every side by his son, the first and greatest of the Othos. A portion of Gaul to the west of the Rhine, along the banks of the Meuse and the Moselle, was assigned to the Germans, by whose blood and language

* He was the son of Otho, the son of Ludolph, in whose favour the duchy of Saxony had been instituted, A. D. 858. Ruotgerus, the biographer of a St Bruno, (Bibliot. Bunavianæ Catalog. tom. iii. vol. ii. p. 679.) gives a splendid character of his family. *Atavorum at avi usque ad hominum memoriam omnes nobilissimi; nullus in eorum stirpe ignotus, nullus degener facile reperitur,* (apud Struvium, Corp. Hist. German. p. 216.) Yet Gundling (in Henrico Aucepe) is not satisfied of his descent from Witikind.

† See the treatise of Conringius, (de Finibus Imperii Germanici Francofurt, 1680, in 4to;) he rejects the extravagant and improper scale of the Roman and Carlovingian empires, and discusses, with moderation, the rights of Germany, her vassals, and her neighbours.

guage it has been tinged since the time of Cæsar and Tacitus. Between the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Alps, the successors of Otho acquired a vain supremacy over the broken kingdoms of Burgundy and Arles. In the north, Christianity was propagated by the sword of Otho, the conqueror and apostle of the Slavic nations of the Elbe and Oder; the marches of Brandenburg and Sleswick were fortified with German colonies; and the king of Denmark, the dukes of Poland and Bohemia, confessed themselves his tributary vassals. At the head of a victorious army, he passed the Alps, subdued the kingdom of Italy, delivered the pope, and for ever fixed the Imperial crown in the name and nation of Germany. From that memorable æra, two maxims of public jurisprudence were introduced by force, and ratified by time. I. *That* the prince who was elected in the German diet, acquired from that instant the subject kingdoms of Italy and Rome. II. But that he might not legally assume the titles of emperor and Augustus, till he had received the crown from the hands of the Roman pontiff *.

The Imperial dignity of Charlemagne was announced to the East by the alteration of his stile; and instead of saluting his fathers, the Greek emperors, he presumed to adopt the more equal
Transactions of the Western and Eastern empires.
 and

* The power of custom forces me to number Conrad I. and Henry I. the Fowler, in the list of emperors, a title which was never assumed by those kings of Germany. The Italians, Muratori for instance, are more scrupulous and correct, and only reckon the princes who have been crowned at Rome.

C H A P. and familiar appellation of brother *. Perhaps in
XLIX. his connection with Irene he aspired to the name
 of husband : His embassy to Constantinople spoke
 the language of peace and friendship, and might
 conceal a treaty of marriage with that ambitious
 princess, who had renounced the most sacred du-
 ties of a mother. The nature, the duration, the
 probable consequences of such an union between
 two distant and dissonant empires, it is impossible
 to conjecture ; but the unanimous silence of the
 Latins may teach us to suspect, that the report was
 invented by the enemies of Irene, to charge her
 with the guilt of betraying the church and state
 to the strangers of the West †. The French am-
 bassadors were the spectators, and had nearly been
 the victims, of the conspiracy of Nicephorus, and
 the national hatred. Constantinople was exaspera-
 ted by the treason and sacrilege of ancient Rome :
 A proverb, “ That the Franks were good friends
 “ and bad neighbours,” was in every one’s mouth ;
 but it was dangerous to provoke a neighbour who
 might be tempted to reiterate, in the church of St
 Sophia, the ceremony of his Imperial coronation.
 After a tedious journey of circuit and delay, the
 ambas-

* *Invidiam tamen suscepti nominis, (C. P. imperatoribus super hoc indignantibus magnâ tulit patientiâ, vicitque eorum contumaciam . . . mittendo ad eos crebras legationes, et in epistolis fratres eos appellando. Eginhard, c. 28. p. 128.)* Perhaps it was on their account that, like Augustus, he affected some reluctance to receive the empire.

† Theophanes speaks of the coronation and unction of Charles, *Καρυλλας*, (*Chronograph. p. 399.*) and of his treaty of marriage with Irene, (*p. 402.*) which is unknown to the Latins. Gaillard relates his transactions with the Greek empire, (*tom. ii. p. 446—468.*)

ambassadors of Nicephorus found him in his camp, C H A P.
 on the banks of the river Sala; and Charlemagne XLIX.
 affected to confound their vanity by displaying, in
 a Franconian village, the pomp, or at least the
 pride, of the Byzantine palace *. The Greeks
 were successively led through four halls of audi-
 ence; in the first, they were ready to fall prostrate
 before a splendid personage in a chair of state, till
 he informed them that he was only a servant, the
 constable, or master of the horse of the emperor.
 The same mistake, and the same answer, were
 repeated in the apartments of the count palatine,
 the steward, and the chamberlain; and their im-
 patience was gradually heightened, till the doors
 of the presence-chamber were thrown open, and
 they beheld the genuine monarch, on his throne,
 enriched with the foreign luxury which he despised,
 and encircled with the love and reverence of his
 victorious chiefs. A treaty of peace and alliance
 was concluded between the two empires, and the
 limits of the East and West were defined by the
 right of present possession. But the Greeks † soon
 forgot this humiliating equality, or remembered it
 only to hate the Barbarians by whom it was extort-
 ed. During the short union of virtue and power,

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O

they

* Gaillard very properly observes, that this pageant was a farce suitable to children only, but that it was indeed represented in the presence, and for the benefit, of children of a larger growth.

† Compare, in the original texts collected by Pagi, (tom. iii. A. D. 812, No. 7. A. D. 824, No. 10, &c.) the contrast of Charlemagne and his son: To the former the ambassadors of Michael, (who were indeed disavowed) more suo, id est, lingua Græcâ laudes dixerunt, imperatorem eum et Βασιλέα appellantes; to the latter, Vocato imperatori Francorum, &c.

C H A P. they respectfully saluted the *august* Charlemagne
 XLIX. with the acclamations of *basileus*, and emperor of
 the Romans. As soon as these qualities were separated in the person of his pious son, the Byzantine letters were inscribed, "To the king, or, as he stiles himself, the emperor of the Franks and Lombards." When both power and virtue were extinct, they despoiled Lewis the second of his hereditary title, and, with the barbarous appellation of rex or *regis*, degraded him among the crowd of Latin princes. His reply* is expressive of his weakness; he proves, with some learning, that both in sacred and profane history, the name of king is synonymous with the Greek word *basileus*; if, at Constantinople, it were assumed in a more exclusive and imperial sense, he claims from his ancestors, and from the pope, a just participation of the honours of the Roman purple. The same controversy was revived in the reign of the Othos; and their ambassador describes, in lively colours, the insolence of the Byzantine court†. The Greeks affected to despise the poverty and ignorance of the Franks and Saxons; and in their last decline, refused

* See the *épistole*, in *Paralipomena*, of the anonymous writer of Salerno, (*Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars ii. p. 243—254. c. 93—107.*) whom Baronius (*A. D. 871, No. 51—71.*) mistook for Erchempert, when he transcribed it in his *Annals*.

† *Ipse enim vos, non imperatorem, id est Basilicam suam linguam, sed ob indignationem βασιλιν, id est regem nostram vocabat, (Liutprand, in Legat. in Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 479.)* The pope had exhorted Nicephorus, emperor of the *Greeks*, to make peace with Otho, the august emperor of the *Romans*—quæ inscriptio secundum Græcos peccatrix et temeraria . . . imperatorem inquit, universalem, Romanorum, Augustum, magnum, solum, Nicephorum, (*p. 486.*)

refused to prostitute to the kings of Germany the title of Roman emperors.

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These emperors, in the election of the popes, continued to exercise the powers which had been assumed by the Gothic and Grecian princes; and the importance of this prerogative increased with the temporal estate and spiritual jurisdiction of the Roman church. In the Christian aristocracy, the principal members of the clergy still formed a senate to assist the administration, and to supply the vacancy of the bishop. Rome was divided into twenty-eight parishes, and each parish was governed by a cardinal-priest, or presbyter, a title which, however common and modest in its origin, has aspired to emulate the purple of kings. Their number was enlarged by the association of the seven deacons of the most considerable hospitals, the seven palatine judges of the Lateran, and some dignitaries of the church. This ecclesiastical senate was directed by the seven cardinal-bishops of the Roman province, who were less occupied in the suburb dioceses of Ostia, Porto, Velitræ, Tusculum, Præneste, Tibur, and the Sabines, than by their weekly service in the Lateran, and their superior share in the honours and authority of the apostolic see. On the death of the pope, these bishops recommended a successor to the suffrage of the college of cardinals *, and their choice was

Authority
of the em-
perors in
the elec-
tions of
the popes,
A. D. 800
—1060.

O 2

ratified

* The origin and progress of the title of cardinal may be found in Thomassin, (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 1261—1298.) Muratori, (*Antiquitat. Italiæ Medii Ævi*, tom. vi. dissert,

C H A P. ratified or rejected by the applause or clamour of
 XLIX. the Roman people. But the election was imperfect; nor could the pontiff be legally consecrated till the emperor, the advocate of the church, had graciously signified his approbation and consent. The royal commissioner examined, on the spot, the form and freedom of the proceedings; nor was it, till after a previous scrutiny into the qualifications of the candidates, that he accepted an oath of fidelity, and confirmed the donations which had successively enriched the patrimony of St Peter. In the frequent schisms, the rival claims were submitted to the sentence of the emperor; and in a synod of bishops he presumed to judge, to condemn, and to punish, the crimes of a guilty pontiff. Otho the first imposed a treaty on the senate and people, who engaged to prefer the candidate most acceptable to his majesty*; his successors anticipated or prevented their choice; they bestowed the Roman benefice, like the bishoprics of Cologne or Bamberg, on their chancellors or preceptors; and whatever might be the merit of a Frank or Saxon, his name sufficiently attests the interposition of foreign power. These acts of prerogative

dissert. lxi. p. 159—182.) and Mosheim, (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 345—347.) who accurately remarks the forms and changes of the election. The cardinal bishops, so highly exalted by Peter Damianus, are sunk to a level with the rest of the sacred college.

* *Firmiter jurantes, nunquam se papam electurōs aut ordinaturos, præter consensum et electionem Othonis et filii sui, (Liutprand, l. vi. c. 6. p. 472.)* This important concession may either suppl. or confirm the decree of the clergy and people of Rome, so fiercely rejected by Baronius, Pagi, and Muratori, (A. D. 964.) and so well defended and explained by St Marc, (Abregé, tom. ii. p. 808—816. tom. iv. p. 1167—1185.) Consult that historical critic, and the Annals of Muratori, for the election and confirmation of each pope.

rogative were most speciously excused by the vices of a popular election. The competitor who had been excluded by the cardinals, appealed to the passions or avarice of the multitude: The Vatican and the Lateran were stained with blood; and the most powerful senators, the marquisses of Tuscany and the counts of Tusculm, held the apostolic see in a long and disgraceful servitude. The Roman pontiffs, of the ninth and tenth centuries, were insulted, imprisoned, and murdered, by their tyrants; and such was their indigence after the loss and usurpation of the ecclesiastical patrimonies, that they could neither support the state of a prince, nor exercise the charity of a priest *. The influence of two sister prostitutes, Marozia, and Theodora, was founded on their wealth and beauty, their political and amorous intrigues: the most strenuous of their lovers were rewarded with the Roman mitre, and their reign † may have suggested to the darker ages ‡ the

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Disorders.

O 3

fable

* The oppression and vices of the Roman church in the tenth century are strongly painted in the history and legation of Liutprand, (see p. 440. 450. 471—476. 479, &c.) and it is whimsical enough to observe Muratori tempering the invectives of Baronius against the popes. But these popes had been chosen, not by the cardinals, but by lay-patrons.

† The time of pope Joan (*papissa Joanna*) is placed somewhat earlier than Theodora or Marozia; and the two years of her imaginary reign are forcibly inserted between Leo IV. and Benedict III. But the contemporary Anastasius indissolubly links the death of Leo and the elevation of Benedict, (illico, *mox*, p. 247. and the accurate chronology of Pagi, Muratori, and Leibnitz, fixes both events to the year 857.

‡ The advocates for pope Joan produce one hundred and fifty witnesses, or rather echoes, of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. They bear testimony against themselves and

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fable * of a female pope †. The bastard son, the grandson and the great grandson of Marozia, a rare genealogy, were seated in the chair of St Peter, and it was at the age of nineteen years that the second of these became the head of the Latin church. His youth and manhood were of a suitable complexion; and the nations of pilgrims could bear testimony to the charges that were urged against him in a Roman synod, and in the presence of Otho the great. As John XII. had renounced the dress and decencies of his profession, the *soldier* may not perhaps be dishonoured by the wine which he drank, the blood that he spilt, the flames that he kindled, or the licentious pursuits of gaming and hunting. His open simony might be the consequence of distress; and

and the legend, by multiplying the proof that so curious a story *must* have been repeated by writers of every description to whom it was known. On those of the ninth and tenth centuries, the recent event would have flashed with a double force. Would Photius have spared such a reproach? Could Liutprand have missed such scandal? It is scarcely worth while to discuss the various readings of Martinus Polonus, Sigebert of Gemblours, or even Marianus Scotus; but a most palpable forgery is the passage of pope Joan, which has been foisted into some MSS. and editions of the Roman Anastasius.

* As *false*, it deserves that name; but I would not pronounce it incredible. Suppose a famous French chevalier of our own times to have been born in Italy, and educated in the church, instead of the army; *her* merit or fortune *might* have raised her to St Peter's chair; her amours would have been natural; her delivery in the streets unlucky, but not improbable.

† Till the Reformation, the tale was repeated and believed without offence; and Joan's female statue long occupied her place among the popes in the cathedral of Sienna, (Pagi, *Critica*, tom. iii. p. 624—626.) She has been annihilated by two learned Protestants, Blondel and Bayle, (*Dictionaire Critique*, *PAPESSE*, *POLONUS*, *BLONDEL*;) but their brethren were scandalised by this equitable and generous criticism. Spanheim and Lenfant attempt to save this poor engine of controversy; and even Mosheim condescends to cherish some doubt and suspicion, (p. 289.)

and his blasphemous invocation of Jupiter and Venus, if it be true, could not possibly be serious. C H A P. XLIX.

But we read with some surprise, that the worthy grandson of Marozia lived in public adultery with the matrons of Rome; that the Lateran palace was turned into a school for prostitution, and that his rapes of virgins and widows had deterred the female pilgrims from visiting the tomb of St Peter, lest, in the devout act, they should be violated by his successor *. The Protestants have dwelt with malicious pleasure on these characters of antichrist; but to a philosophic eye, the vices of the clergy are far les dangerous than their virtues. After a long series of scandal, the apostolic see was reformed and exalted by the austerity and zeal of Gregory VII. That ambitious monk devoted his life to the execution of two projects. I. To fix in the college of cardinals the freedom and independence of election, and for ever to abolish the right or usurpation of the emperors and the Roman people. II. To bestow and resume the Western empire as a fief or benefice † of the church, and to extend

Reformation and claims of the church, A. D. 1073, &c.

O 4

his

* Lateranense palatium prostibulum meretricum Testis omnium gentium, præterquam Romanorum, absentia mulierum, quæ sanctorum apostolorum limina orandi gratiâ timent visere, cum nonnullas ante dies paucos, hunc audierint conjugatas viduas, virgines vi oppressisse, (Liutprand, Hist. l. vi. c. 6. p. 471. See the whole affair of John XII. p. 471—476.)

† A new example of the mischief of equivocation is the *beneficium*, (Ducange, tom. i. p. 617, &c.) which the pope conferred on the emperor Frederic I. since the Latin word may signify either a legal fief, or a simple favour, an obligation, (we want the word *bainfait*.) See Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 393—408. Pfeffel, Abregé Chronologique, tom. i. p. 229. 296. 317. 324. 420. 430. 500. 509, &c.)

CHAP. XLIX. his temporal dominion over the kings and kingdoms of the earth. After a contest of fifty years, the first of these designs was accomplished by the firm support of the ecclesiastical order, whose liberty was connected with that of their chief. But the second attempt, though it was crowned with some partial and apparent success, has been vigorously resisted by the secular power, and finally extinguished by the improvement of human reason.

Authority
of the em-
perors in
Rome.

In the revival of the empire of Rome, neither the bishop nor the people could bestow on Charlemagne or Otho, the provinces which were lost, as they had been won, by the chance of arms. But the Romans were free to chuse a master for themselves; and the powers which had been delegated to the patrician, were irrevocably granted to the French and Saxon emperors of the West. The broken records of the times * preserve some remembrance of their palace, their mint, their tribunal, their edicts, and the sword of justice, which, as late as the thirteenth century, was derived from Cæsar to the præfect of the city †. Between the arts of the popes and the violence of the people, this supremacy was crushed and annihilated. Content with the titles of emperor and Augustus, the successors of Charlemagne neglected to assert this local jurisdiction. In the hour of prosperity,

* For the history of the emperors in Rome and Italy, see Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ; Opp. tom. ii. with the Notes of Savius, and the annals of Muratori, who might refer more distinctly to the authors of his great collection.

† See the Dissertation of Le Blanc at the end of his *Treatise des Monnoyes de France*, in which he produces some Roman coins of the French emperors.

prosperity, their ambition was diverted by more alluring objects; and in the decay and division of the empire, they were oppressed by the defence of their hereditary provinces. Amidst the ruins of Italy, the famous Marozia invited one of the usurpers to assume the character of her third husband; and Hugh, king of Burgundy, was introduced by her faction into the mole of Hadrian or castle of St Angelo, which commands the principal bridge and entrance of Rome. Her son by the first marriage, Alberic, was compelled to attend at the nuptial banquet; but his reluctant and ungrateful service was chastised with a blow by his new father. The blow was productive of a revolution. "Romans," exclaimed the youth, "once you were the masters of the world, and these Burgundians the most abject of your slaves. They now reign, these voracious and brutal savages, and my injury is the commencement of your servitude *." The alarum-bell rung to arms in every quarter of the city; the Burgundians retreated with haste and shame; Marozia was imprisoned by her victorious son; and his brother, pope John XI. was reduced to the exercise of his spiritual functions. With the title of prince, Alberic possessed above twenty years the government of Rome, and he is said to have gratified the popular prejudice, by restoring the

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Revolt of
Alberic,
A. D. 932.

* Romanorum aliquando servi, scilicet Burgundiones, Romanis imperent? . . . Romanæ urbis dignitas ad tantam est stultitiam ducta, ut meretricum etiam imperio pareat? (Liutprand, l. iii. c. 12. p. 450.) Sigonius (l. vi p. 400.) positively affirms the renovation of the consulship; but in the old writers Albericus is more frequently stiled princeps Romanorum.

C H A P. a scene of tumult and bloodshed *. A faint remembrance of their ancestors still tormented the Romans; and they beheld with pious indignation the succession of Saxons, Franks, Swabians, and Bohemians, who usurped the purple and prerogatives of the Cæsars.

The kingdom of Italy,
A. D. 774
—1250.

There is nothing perhaps more adverse to nature and reason than to hold in obedience remote countries and foreign nations, in opposition to their inclination and interest. A torrent of Barbarians may pass over the earth, but an extensive empire must be supported by a refined system of policy and oppression; in the centre, an absolute power, prompt in action, and rich in resources; a swift and easy communication with the extreme parts: Fortifications to check the first effort of rebellion: A regular administration to protect and punish; and a well-disciplined army to inspire fear, without provoking discontent and despair. Far different was the situation of the German Cæsars, who were ambitious to enslave the kingdom of Italy. Their patrimonial estates were stretched along the Rhine, or scattered in the provinces; but this ample domain was alienated by the imprudence or distress of successive princes; and their revenue, from minute and vexatious prerogative, was scarcely sufficient for the maintenance of their household. Their troops were formed by the legal or voluntary service of their feudal vassals, who passed the Alps with reluctance, assumed the

* In a quarrel at the coronation of Conrad II. Muratori takes leave to observe—*doveano ben essere allora, indisciplinati, Barbari, e bestiali i Tedeschi.* Annal. tom. viii. p. 368.

the licence of rapine and disorder, and capriciously deserted before the end of the campaign. Whole armies were swept away by the pestilential influence of the climate; the survivors brought back the bones of their princes and nobles *, and the effects of their own intemperance were often imputed to the treachery and malice of the Italians, who rejoiced at least in the calamities of the Barbarians. This irregular tyranny might contend on equal terms with the petty tyrants of Italy; nor can the people, or the reader, be much interested in the event of the quarrel. But in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Lombards rekindled the flame of industry and freedom; and the generous example was at length imitated by the republics of Tuscany. In the Italian cities a municipal government had never been totally abolished; and their first privileges were granted by the favour and policy of the emperors, who were desirous of erecting a plebeian barrier against the independence of the nobles. But their rapid progress, the daily extension of their power and pretensions, were founded on the numbers and spirit of these rising communities †. Each city filled the

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* After boiling away the bones. The caldrons for that purpose were a necessary piece of travelling furniture; and a German who was using it for his brother, promised it to a friend, after it should have been employed for himself. (Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 423, 424.) The same author observes that the whole Saxon line was extinguished in Italy, (tom. ii. p. 440.)

† Otho bishop of Frisingen has left an important passage on the Italian cities; (l. ii. c. 13. in Script. Ital. tom. vi. p. 707—710.) and the rise, progress, and government, of these republics, are perfectly illustrated by Muratori. (Antiquitat. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. iv. dissert. xlv.—l. ii. p. 1—675. Annal. tom. viii. ix, x.)

C H A P. the measure of her diocese or district: The juris-
 XLIX. diction of the counts and bishops, of the marquises and counts, was banished from the land: And the proudest nobles were persuaded or compelled to desert their solitary castles, and to embrace the more honourable character of freemen and magistrates. The legislative authority was inherent in the general assembly; but the executive powers were entrusted to three consuls, annually chosen from the three orders of *captains*, *valvassors* *, and commons, into which the republic was divided. Under the protection of equal law, the labours of agriculture and commerce were gradually revived; but the martial spirit of the Lombards was nourished by the presence of danger; and as often as the bell was rung, or the standard † erected, the gates of the city poured forth a numerous and intrepid band, whose zeal in their own cause was soon guided by the use and discipline of arms. At the foot of these popular ramparts, the pride of the Cæsars was overthrown; and the invincible genius of liberty prevailed over the two Frederics, the greatest princes of the middle age: The first, superior perhaps in military prowess; the second, who undoubtedly excelled in the softer accomplishments of peace and learning.

Ambitious

* For these titles, see Selden, (Titles of Honour, vol. iii. part i. p. 488.) Ducange, (Gloss. Latin. tom. ii. p. 140. tom. vi. p. 776.) and St Marc, (Abregé Chronologique, tom. ii. p. 719.)

† The Lombards invented and used the *carocium*, a standard planted on a car or waggon, drawn by a team of oxen, (Ducange, tom. iii. p. 194, 195. Muratori, Antiquitat. tom. ii. Diss. xxxvi. p. 489—493.)

Ambitious of restoring the splendour of the purple, Frederic the first invaded the republics of Lombardy, with the arts of a statesman, the valour of a soldier, and the cruelty of a tyrant. The recent discovery of the pandects had renewed a science most favourable to despotism; and his venal advocates proclaimed the emperor the absolute master of the lives and properties of his subjects. His royal prerogatives, in a less odious sense, were acknowledged in the diet of Roncaglia; and the revenue of Italy was fixed at thirty thousand pounds of silver *, which were multiplied to an indefinite demand, by the rapine of the fiscal officers. The obstinate cities were reduced by the terror or the force of his arms; his captives were delivered to the executioner, or shot from his military engines; and, after the siege and surrender of Milan, the buildings of that stately capital were razed to the ground, three hundred hostages were sent into Germany, and the inhabitants were dispersed in four villages, under the yoke of the inflexible conqueror †. But Milan soon rose from her ashes; and the league of Lombardy was cemented by distress; their cause was espoused by Venice, pope Alexander the third, and the Greek emperor: The fabric of oppression was overturned in a day; and in the treaty of Constance, Frederic

C H A P.
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Frederic
the first,
A.D. 1159
—1190.

* Gunther Ligurinus, l. viii. 584. et seq. apud Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 399.

† Solus imperator faciem suam firmavit ut petram. (Burcard. de Excidio Mediolani, Script. Ital. tom. vi p. 917.) This volume of Muratori contains the originals of the history of Frederic the first, which must be compared with due regard to the circumstances and prejudices of each German or Lombard writer.

C H A P. ric subscribed, with some reservations, the freedom
 XLIX. of four-and-twenty cities. His grandson contend-
 { Frederic ed with their vigour and maturity; but Frederic
 the se- the second * was endowed with some personal and
 cond, peculiar advantages. His birth and education re-
 A.D. 1198 commended him to the Italians; and in the im-
 —1250. placable discord of the two factions, the Ghibe-
 lins were attached to the emperor, while the
 Guelfs displayed the banner of liberty and the
 church. The court of Rome had slumbered,
 when his father Henry the sixth was permitted to
 unite with the empire the kingdoms of Naples
 and Sicily; and from these hereditary realms, the
 son derived an ample and ready supply of troops
 and treasure. Yet Frederic the second was finally
 oppressed by the arms of the Lombards and the
 thunders of the Vatican; his kingdom was given
 to a stranger, and the last of his family was be-
 headed at Naples on a public scaffold. During
 sixty years no emperor appeared in Italy, and the
 name was remembered only by the ignominious
 sale of the last relics of sovereignty.

Indepen-
 dence of
 the prin-
 ces of
 Germany,
 A. D. 814
 —1250,
 &c.

The Barbarian conquerors of the West were
 pleased to decorate their chief with the title of em-
 peror; but it was not their design to invest him
 with the despotism of Constantine and Justinian.
 The persons of the Germans were free, their con-
 quests were their own, and their national character
 was animated by a spirit which scorned the servile
 jurisprudence of the new or the ancient Rome. It
 would

* For the history of Frederic II. and the house of Swabia at
 Naples, see Giannone, *Istoria Civile*, tom. ii. l. xiv—xix.

would have been a vain and dangerous attempt to impose a monarch on the armed freemen, who were impatient of a magistrate ; on the bold, who refused to obey ; on the powerful, who aspired to command. The empire of Charlemagne and Otho was distributed among the dukes of the nations or provinces, the counts of the smaller districts, and the margraves of the marches or frontiers, who all united the civil and military authority as it had been delegated to the lieutenants of the first Cæsars. The Roman governors, who, for the most part, were soldiers of fortune, seduced their mercenary legions, assumed the Imperial purple, and either failed or succeeded in their revolt, without wounding the power and unity of government. If the dukes, margraves, and counts of Germany, were less audacious in their claims, the consequences of their success were more lasting and pernicious to the state. Instead of aiming at the supreme rank, they silently laboured to establish and appropriate their provincial independence. Their ambition was seconded by the weight of their estates and vassals, their mutual example and support, the common interest of the subordinate nobility, the change of princes and families, the minorities of Otho the third and Henry the fourth, the ambition of the popes, and the vain pursuits of the fugitive crowns of Italy and Rome. All the attributes of regal and territorial jurisdiction were gradually usurped by the commanders of the provinces ; the right of peace and war, of life and death, of coinage and taxation, of foreign alliance and domestic œconomy. Whatever had been seized by violence was ratified by favour or distress, was granted as

C H A P. the price of a doubtful vote or a voluntary service ;
 XLIX. whatever had been granted to one could not, without injury, be denied to his successor or equal ; and every act of local or temporary possession was insensibly moulded into the constitution of the Germanic kingdom. In every province, the visible presence of the duke or count was interposed between the throne and the nobles ; the subjects of the law became the vassals of a private chief ; and the standard, which *he* received from his sovereign, was often raised against him in the field. The temporal power of the clergy was cherished and exalted by the superstition or policy of the Carolingian and Saxon dynasties, who blindly depended on their moderation and fidelity ; and the bishoprics of Germany were made equal in extent and privilege, superior in wealth and population, to the most ample states of the military order. As long as the emperors retained the prerogative of bestowing on every vacancy these ecclesiastic and secular benefices, their cause was maintained by the gratitude or ambition of their friends and favourites. But in the quarrel of the investitures, they were deprived of their influence over the episcopal chapters ; the freedom of election was restored, and the sovereign was reduced, by a solemn mockery, to his *first prayers*, the commendation, once in his reign, to a single prebend in each church. The secular governors, instead of being recalled at the will of a superior, could be degraded only by the sentence of their peers. In the first age of the monarchy, the appointment of the son to the duchy or county of his father, was
 soli.

solicited as a favour ; it was gradually obtained as a custom, and extorted as a right : The lineal succession was often extended to the collateral or female branches ; the states of the empire (their popular, and at length their legal appellation) were divided and alienated by testament and sale ; and all idea of a public trust was lost in that of a private and perpetual inheritance. The emperor could not even be enriched by the casualties of forfeiture and extinction : Within the term of a year, he was obliged to dispose of the vacant fief, and in the choice of the candidate, it was his duty to consult either the general or the provincial diet.

C H A P.

XLIX.

After the death of Frederick the second, Germany was left a monster with an hundred heads. A crowd of princes and prelates disputed the ruins of the empire : The lords of innumerable castles were less prone to obey, than to imitate their superiors ; and according to the measure of their strength, their incessant hostilities received the names of conquest or robbery. Such anarchy was the inevitable consequence of the laws and manners of Europe ; and the kingdoms of France and Italy were shivered into fragments by the violence of the same tempest. But the Italian cities and French vassals were divided and destroyed, while the union of the Germans has produced, under the name of an empire, a great system of a fœderative republic. In the frequent and at last the perpetual institution of diets, a national spirit was kept alive, and the powers of a common legislature are still exercised by the three branches or colleges of the electors, the princes, and the free and Im-

The Germanic constitution, A. D. 1250.

C H A P.

XLIX.



perial cities of Germany. I. Seven of the most powerful feudatories were permitted to assume, with a distinguished name and rank, the exclusive privilege of chusing the Roman emperor; and these electors were the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the count palatine of the Rhine, and the three archbishops of Mentz, of Treves, and of Cologne. II. The college of princes and prelates purged themselves of a promiscuous multitude: They reduced to four representative votes, the long series of independent counts, and excluded the nobles or equestrian order, sixty thousand of whom, as in the Polish diets, had appeared on horseback in the field of election. III. The pride of birth and dominion, of the sword and the mitre, wisely adopted the commons as the third branch of the legislature, and, in the progress of society, they were introduced about the same æra into the national assemblies of France, England, and Germany. The Hanseatic league commanded the trade and navigation of the north: The confederates of the Rhine secured the peace and intercourse of the inland country: The influence of the cities has been adequate to their wealth and policy, and their negative still invalidates the acts of the two superior colleges of electors and princes*.

* In the immense labyrinth of the *jus publicum* of Germany, I must either quote one writer or a thousand; and I had rather trust to one faithful guide, than transcribe, on credit, a multitude of names and passages. That guide is M. Pfeffel, the author of the best legal and constitutional history that I know of any country. (Nuvel. Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire et du Droit Public d'Allemagne, Paris, 1776, 2 vols. in 4to.) His learning

It is in the fourteenth century that we may view, in the strongest light, the state and contrast of the Roman empire of Germany, which no longer held, except on the borders of the Rhine and Danube, a single province of Trajan or Constantine. Their unworthy successors were the counts of Hapsburgh, of Nassau, of Luxemburgh, and of Schwartzburgh : The emperor Henry the seventh procured for his son the crown of Bohemia, and his grandson Charles the fourth was born among a people, strange and barbarous in the estimation of the Germans themselves *. After the excommunication of Lewis of Bavaria, he received the gift or promise of the vacant empire from the Roman pontiffs, who, in the exile and captivity of Avignon, affected the dominion of the earth. The death of his competitors united the electoral college, and Charles was unanimously saluted king of the Romans, and future emperor ; a title which, in the same age, was prostituted to the Cæsars of Germany and Greece. The German emperor was no more

C H A P.
XLIX.
Weak-
ness and
poverty
of the
German
emperor
Charles
IV. A. D.
1347—
1378.

P 3

than

learning and judgment have discerned the most interesting facts ; his simple brevity comprises them in a narrow space ; his chronological order distributes them under the proper dates ; and an elaborate index collects them under their respective heads. To this work, in a less perfect state, Dr Robertson was gratefully indebted for that masterly sketch which traces even the modern changes of the Germanic body. The *Corpus Historiæ Germanicæ* of Struvius has been likewise consulted, the more usefully, as that huge compilation is fortified, in every page, with the original texts.

* Yet, *personally*, Charles IV. must not be considered as a Barbarian. After his education at Paris, he recovered the use of the Bohemian, his native, idiom ; and the emperor conversed and wrote with equal facility in French, Latin, Italian, and German ; (Struvius, p. 615, 616.) Petrarch always represents him as a polite and learned prince.

C H A P. than the elective and impotent magistrate of an
 XLIX. aristocracy of princes, who had not left him a
 village that he might call his own. His best prerogative was the right of presiding and proposing in the national senate, which was convened at his summons ; and his native kingdom of Bohemia, less opulent than the adjacent city of Nurembergh, was the firmest seat of his power, and the richest source of his revenue. The army with which he passed the Alps consisted of three hundred horse. In the cathedral of St Ambrose, Charles was crowned with the *iron* crown, which tradition ascribed to the Lombard monarchy ; but he was admitted only with a peaceful train ; the gates of the city were shut upon him ; and the king of Italy was held a captive by the arms of the Visconti, whom he confirmed in the sovereignty of Milan. In the Vatican he was again crowned with the *golden* crown of the empire ; but, in obedience to a secret treaty, the Roman emperor immediately withdrew, without reposing a single night within the walls of Rome. The eloquent Petrarch *, whose fancy revived the visionary glories of the Capitol, deplores and upbraids the ignominious flight of the Bohemian ; and even his contemporaries could observe, that the sole exercise of his authority was in the lucrative sale of privileges and titles. The gold of Italy secured the election of his son ;

* Besides the German and Italian historians, the expedition of Charles IV. is painted in lively and original colours in the curious *Memoires sur la Vie de Petrarque*, tom. iii. p 376—430. by the Abbé de Sade, whose prolixity has never been blamed by any reader of taste and curiosity.

son; but such was the shameful poverty of the Roman emperor, that his person was arrested by a butcher in the streets of Worms, and was detained in the public inn, as a pledge or hostage for the payment of his expences.

His ostentation,
A. D.
1356.

From this humiliating scene, let us turn to the apparent majesty of the same Charles in the diets of the empire. The golden bull, which fixes the Germanic constitution, is promulgated in the stile of a sovereign and legislator. An hundred princes bowed before his throne, and exalted their own dignity, by the voluntary honours which they yielded to their chief or minister. At the royal banquet, the hereditary great officers, the seven electors, who in rank and title were equal to kings, performed their solemn and domestic service of the palace. The seals of the triple kingdom were borne in state by the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, the perpetual arch-chancellors of Germany, Italy, and Arles. The great marshal, on horseback, exercised his function with a silver measure of oats, which he emptied on the ground, and immediately dismounted to regulate the order of the guests. The great steward, the count palatine of the Rhine, placed the dishes on the table. The great chamberlain, the margrave of Brandenburg, presented, after the repast, the golden ewer and bason, to wash. The king of Bohemia, as great cup-bearer, was represented by the emperor's brother, the duke of Luxemburgh and Brabant; and the procession was closed by the great huntsmen, who introduced a boar and a stag,

CHAPTER. with a loud chorus of horns and hounds *. Nor

XLIX.

Germany alone ; the hereditary monarchs of Europe confessed the pre-eminence of his rank and dignity ; he was the first of the Christian princes, the temporal head of the great republic of the West † : To his person the title of majesty was long appropriated ; and he disputed with the pope the sublime prerogative of creating kings and assembling councils. The oracle of the civil law, the learned Bartolus, was a pensioner of Charles the fourth ; and his school resounded with the doctrine, that the Roman emperor was the rightful sovereign of the earth, from the rising to the setting sun. The contrary opinion was condemned, not as an error, but as an heresy, since even the gospel had pronounced, “ And there went forth a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that *all the world* should be taxed ‡.”

Contrast
of the
power and
modesty
of Augustus.

If we annihilate the interval of time and space between Augustus and Charles, strong and striking will be the contrast between the two Cæsars ; the Bohemian, who concealed his weakness under the mask of ostentation, and the Roman, who disguised his strength under the semblance of modesty. At the head of his victorious legions, in his reign over the sea and land, from the Nile and Euphrates to the Atlantic ocean, Augustus professed himself the servant

* See the whole ceremony, in Struvius, p. 629.

† The republic of Europe, with the pope and emperor at its head, was never represented with more dignity than in the council of Constance. See Lenfant's History of that assembly.

‡ Gravina, Origines Juris Civilis, p. 108.

servant of the state, and the equal of his fellow-citizens. The conqueror of Rome and her provinces assumed the popular and legal form of a censor, a consul, and a tribune. His will was the law of mankind, but in the declaration of his laws, he borrowed the voice of the senate and people; and, from their decrees, their master accepted and renewed his temporary commission to administer the republic. In his dress, his domestics *, his titles, in all the offices of social life, Augustus maintained the character of a private Roman; and his most artful flatterers respected the secret of his absolute and perpetual monarchy.

C H A P.

XLIX.

* Six thousand urns have been discovered of the slaves and freedmen of Augustus and Livia. So minute was the division of office, that one slave was appointed to weigh the wool which was spun by the empress's maids, another for the care of her lap-dog, &c. (*Camere Sepolchrale*, &c. by Bianchini. Extract of his work, in the *Bibliothèque Italique*, tom. iv. p. 175. His *Eloge*, by Fontenelle, tom. vi. p. 356.) But these servants were of the same rank, and possibly not more numerous than those of Pollio or Lentulus. They only prove the general riches of the city.

C H A P.

C H A P. L.

Description of Arabia and its Inhabitants.—Birth, Character, and Doctrine, of Mahomet.—He preaches at Mecca.—Flies to Medina.—Propagates his Religion by the Sword.—Voluntary or reluctant Submission of the Arabs.—His Death and Successors.—The Claims and Fortunes of Ali and his Descendants.

C H A P.
L.

AFTER pursuing, above six hundred years, the fleeting Cæsars of Constantinople and Germany, I now descend, in the reign of Heraclius, on the eastern borders of the Greek monarchy. While the state was exhausted by the Persian war, and the church was distracted by the Nestorian and Monophysite sects, Mahomet, with the sword in one hand, and the koran in the other, erected his throne on the ruins of Christianity and of Rome. The genius of the Arabian prophet, the manners of his nation, and the spirit of his religion, involve the causes of the decline and fall of the Eastern empire; and our eyes are curiously intent on one of the most memorable revolutions which have impressed a new and lasting character on the nations of the globe*.

In

* As in this and the following chapter I shall display much Arabic learning, I must profess my total ignorance of the Oriental tongues, and my gratitude to the learned interpreters, who have transfused their science into the Latin, French, and English languages. Their collections, versions, and histories, I shall occasionally notice.

In the vacant space between Persia, Syria, Egypt, and Æthiopia, the Arabian peninsula * may be conceived as a triangle of spacious but irregular dimensions. From the northern point of Beles † on the Euphrates, a line of fifteen hundred miles is terminated by the straits of Babelmandel and the land of frankincense. About half this length may be allowed for the middle breadth from east to west, from Bassora to Suez, from the Persian Gulf


CHAP.
L.
Description of
Arabia.

* The geographers of Arabia may be divided into three classes: 1. The *Greeks* and *Latins*, whose progressive knowledge may be traced in Agatharcides, (de Mari Rubro, in Hudson, Geograph. Minor. tom. i.) Diodorus Siculus, (tom. i. l. ii. p. 159—167. l. iii. p. 211—216. edit. Wesseling,) Strabo, (l. xvi. p. 1112—1114. from Eratosthenes, p. 1122—1132. from Artemidorus,) Dionysius, (Periegesis, 927—969.) Pliny, (Hist. Natur. v. 12. vi. 32.) and Ptolemy, (Descript. et Tabulæ Urbium, in Hudson, tom. iii.) 2. The *Arabic writers*, who have treated the subject with the zeal of patriotism or devotion; the extracts of Pocock, (Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 125—128.) from the Geography of the Sherif al Edrissi, render us still more dissatisfied with the version or abridgment (p. 24—27. 44—56. 108, &c. 119, &c.) which the Maronites have published under the absurd title of Geographia Nubiensis, (Paris, 1619.) but the Latin and French translators, Graves (in Hudson, tom. iii.) and Galland, (Voyage de la Palestine par la Roque, p. 265—346.) have opened to us the Arabia of Abulfeda, the most copious and correct account of the peninsula, which may be enriched, however, from the Bibliothèque Orientale of d'Herbelot, p. 120. et alibi passim. 3. The *European travellers*; among whom Shaw (p. 438—455.) and Niebuhr (Description, 1773. Voyages, tom. i. 1776.) deserve an honourable distinction: Busching (Geographie par Berenger, tom. viii. p. 416—510.) has compiled with judgment; and d'Anville's Maps (Orbis Veteribus Notus and 1re Partie de l'Asie) should lie before the reader, with his Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 208—231.

† Abulfed. Descript. Arabiæ, p. 1. D'Anville, l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 19, 20. It was in this place, the paradise or garden of a satrap, that Xenophon and the Greeks first passed the Euphrates, (Anabasis, l. i. c. 10. p. 29. edit. Wells.)

C H A P. Gulf to the Red Sea *. The sides of the triangle

L. are gradually enlarged, and the southern basis

 presents a front of a thousand miles to the Indian ocean. The entire surface of the peninsula exceeds in a fourfold proportion that of Germany or France; but the far greater part has been justly stigmatised with the epithets of the *stony* and the *sandy*. Even the wilds of Tartary are decked by the hand of nature with lofty trees and luxuriant herbage; and the lonesome traveller derives a sort of comfort and society from the presence of vegetable life. But in the dreary waste of Arabia, a boundless level of sand is intersected by sharp and naked mountains, and the face of the desert, without shade or shelter, is scorched by the direct and intense rays of a tropical sun. Instead of refreshing breezes, the winds, particularly from the south-west, diffuse a noxious and even deadly vapour; the hillocks of sand which they alternately raise and scatter, are compared to the billows of the ocean, and whole caravans, whole armies, have been lost and buried in the whirlwind. The common benefits of water are an object of desire and contest; and such is the scarcity of wood, that some art is requisite to preserve and propagate the element of fire. Arabia is destitute of navigable rivers, which fertilize the soil, and convey its produce to the adjacent regions: The torrents that fall from the hills are imbibed by the thirsty earth; the rare and hardy plants, the tamarind or the acacia, that strike their roots into the clefts of

The soil
and cli-
mate.

* Reland has proved, with much superfluous learning, 1. That our Red Sea (the Arabian Gulph) is no more than a part of the *Mare Rubrum*, the *Ερυθρα θαλασσα* of the ancients, which was extended to the indefinite space of the Indian ocean. 2. That the synonymous words *ερυθρος*, *αιθιοψς*, alluded to the colour of the blacks or negroes, (Dissert. Miscell. tom. i. p. 59—117.)

of the rocks, are nourished by the dews of the night; a scanty supply of rain is collected in cisterns and aqueducts; the wells and springs are the secret treasure of the desert; and the pilgrim of Mecca*, after many a dry and sultry march, is disgusted by the taste of the waters, which have rolled over a bed of sulphur or salt. Such is the general and genuine picture of the climate of Arabia. The experience of evil enhances the value of any local or partial enjoyments. A shady grove, a green pasture, a stream of fresh water, are sufficient to attract a colony of sedentary Arabs to the fortunate spots which can afford food and refreshment to themselves and their cattle, and which encourage their industry in the cultivation of the palm-tree and the vine. The high lands that border on the Indian ocean are distinguished by their superior plenty of wood and water; the air is more temperate, the fruits are more delicious, the animals and the human race more numerous; the fertility of the soil invites and rewards the toil of the husbandman; and the peculiar gifts of frankincense† and coffee have attracted, in different ages, the merchants of the world. If it be compared with the

* In the thirty days, or stations, between Cairo and Mecca, there are fifteen destitute of good water. See the route of the Hadjees, in Shaw's Travels, p. 477.

† The aromatics, especially the *thus* or frankincense, of Arabia, occupy the ninth book of Pliny. Our great poet (*Paradise Lost*, l. iv.) introduces, in a simile, the spicy odours that are blown by the north-east wind from the Sabæan coast:

—Many a league,

Pleas'd with the grateful scent, old Ocean smiles.

(*Plin. Hist. Natur.* xii. 42.)

C H A P. the rest of the peninsula, this sequestered region
 L. may truly deserve the appellation of the *happy* :
 { And the splendid colouring of fancy and fiction has
 been suggested by contrast and countenanced by
 distance. It was for this earthly paradise that na-
 ture had reserved her choicest favours and her most
 curious workmanship : The incompatible blessings
 of luxury and innocence were ascribed to the na-
 tives : The soil was impregnated with gold * and
 gems, and both the land and sea were taught to
 exhale the odours of aromatic sweets. This di-
 vision of the *sandy*, the *stony*, and the *happy*, so
 familiar to the Greeks and Latins, is unknown to
 the Arabians themselves ; and it is singular
 enough, that a country, whose language and in-
 habitants have ever been the same, should scarcely
 retain a vestige of its ancient geography. The
 maritime districts of *Babrein* and *Oman* are op-
 posite to the realm of Persia. The kingdom of
Yemen displays the limits, or at least the situation,
 of Arabia Foelix : The name *Neged* is extended
 over the inland space ; and the birth of Maho-
 met has illustrated the province of *Hejaz* along
 the coast of the Red Sea †.

Division
 of the
 sandy,
 the stony,
 and the
 happy
 Arabia.

The

* Agatharcides affirms, that lumps of pure gold were found, from the size of an olive to that of a nut ; that iron was twice, and silver ten times the value of gold, (de Mari Rubro, p. 60.) These real or imaginary treasures are vanished ; and no gold mines are at present known in Arabia, (Niebuhr, Description, p. 124.)

† Consult, peruse, and study, the Specimen Historia Arabum of Pocock ! (Oxon. 1650, in 4to.) The thirty pages of text and version are extracted from the Dynasties of Gregory Abulpharagius, which Pocock afterwards translated ; (Oxon. 1663, in 4to,) the three hundred and fifty-eight notes from a classic and original work on the Arabian antiquities.

The measure of population is regulated by the means of subsistence ; and the inhabitants of this vast peninsula might be out-numbered by the subjects of a fertile and industrious province. Along the shores of the Persian gulf, of the ocean, and even of the Red Sea, the *Ichthyophagi**, or fish-eaters, continued to wander in quest of their precarious food. In this primitive and abject state, which ill deserves the name of society, the human brute, without arts or laws, almost without sense or language, is poorly distinguished from the rest of the animal creation. Generations and ages might roll away in silent oblivion, and the helpless savage was restrained from multiplying his race, by the wants and pursuits which confined his existence to the narrow margin of the sea-coast. But in an early period of antiquity, the great body of the Arabs had emerged from this scene of misery ; and as the naked wilderness could not maintain a people of hunters, they rose at once to the more secure and plentiful condition of the pastoral life. The same life is uniformly pursued by the roving tribes of the desert, and in the portrait of the modern *Bedoweens*, we may trace the features of their ancestors †, who, in the

C H A P.
L.

Manners
of the Be-
doweens,
or pastoral
Arabs.

* Arrian remarks the *Ichthyophagi* of the coast of Hejaz, (*Periplus Maris Erythræi*, p. 12.) and beyond Aden, (p. 15.) It seems probable, that the shores of the Red Sea (in the largest sense) were occupied by these savages in the time, perhaps, of Cyrus ; but I can hardly believe that any cannibals were left among the savages in the reign of Justinian, (*Procop. de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 19.*)

† See the *Specimen Historiæ Arabum* of Pocock, p. 2. 5. 86. &c. The journey of M. d'Arvieux, in 1664, to the camp of the emir of Mount Carmel, (*Voyage de la Palestine*, Amsterdam,

C H A P. the age of Moses or Mahomet, dwelt under similar tents, and conducted their horses, and camels, and sheep, to the same springs and the same pastures. Our toil is lessened, and our wealth is increased, by our dominion over the useful animals; and the Arabian shepherd had acquired the absolute possession of a faithful friend and a laborious slave *. Arabia, in the opinion of the naturalist, is the genuine and original country of the *horse*; the climate most propitious, not indeed to the size, but to the spirit and swiftness, of that generous animal. The merit of the Barb, the Spanish, and the English breed, is derived from a mixture of Arabian blood †: The Bedoweens preserve, with superstitious care, the honours and the memory of the purest race: The males are sold at a high price, but the females are seldom alienated; and the birth of a noble foal was esteemed, among the tribes, as a subject of joy and mutual congratulation. These horses are educated in the tents, among the children of the Arabs, with a tender familiarity, which trains them

dam, 1718,) exhibits a pleasing and original picture of the life of the Bedoweens, which may be illustrated from Niebuhr, (*Description de l'Arabie*, p. 327—344.) and Volney, (tom. i. p. 343—355.) the last and most judicious of our Syrian travellers.

* Read (it is no unpleasing task) the incomparable articles of the *Horse* and the *Camel*, in the *Natural History* of M. de Buffon.

† For the Arabian horses, see d'Arvieux, (p. 159—173.) and Niebuhr, (p. 142—144.) At the end of the thirteenth century, the horses of Naged were esteemed sure footed, those of Yemen strong and serviceable, those of Hejaz most noble. The horses of Europe, the tenth and last class, were generally despised, as having too much body and too little spirit; (d'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orient.* p. 339.) their strength was requisite to bear the weight of the knight and his armour.

them in the habits of gentleness and attachment. C H A P. L. They are accustomed only to walk and to gallop: Their sensations are not blunted by the incessant abuse of the spur and the whip: Their powers are reserved for the moments of flight and pursuit; but no sooner do they feel the touch of the hand or the stirrup, than they dart away with the swiftness of the wind; and if their friend be dismounted in the rapid career, they instantly stop till he has recovered his seat. In the sands of Africa and Arabia, the *camel* is a sacred and precious gift. That strong and patient beast of burthen can perform, without eating or drinking, a journey of several days; and a reservoir of fresh water is preserved in a large bag, a fifth stomach of the animal, whose body is imprinted with the marks of servitude: The larger breed is capable of transporting a weight of a thousand pounds; and the dromedary, of a lighter and more active frame, outstrips the fleetest courser in the race. Alive or dead, almost every part of the camel is serviceable to man; her milk is plentiful and nutritious; the young and tender flesh has the taste of veal *; a valuable salt is extracted from the urine; the dung supplies the deficiency of fuel; and the long hair, which falls each year and is renewed, is coarsely manufactured into the garments,

Vol. IX.

Q

* Qui carnibus camelorum vesci solent odii tenaces sunt, was the opinion of an Arabian physician, (Pocock, Specimen. p. 88.) Mahomet himself, who was fond of milk, prefers the cow, and does not even mention the camel; but the diet of Mecca and Medina was already more luxurious, (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 404.)

C H A P. L. ments, the furniture, and the tents, of the Bedoweens. In the rainy seasons they consume the rare and insufficient herbage of the desert: During the heats of summer and the scarcity of winter, they remove their encampments to the sea-coast, the hills of Yemen, or the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, and have often extorted the dangerous licence of visiting the banks of the Nile, and the villages of Syria and Palestine. The life of a wandering Arab is a life of danger and distress; and though sometimes, by rapine or exchange, he may appropriate the fruits of industry, a private citizen in Europe is in the possession of more solid and pleasing luxury, than the proudest emir, who marches in the field at the head of ten thousand horse.

Cities of
Arabia.

Yet an essential difference may be found between the hords of Scythia and the Arabian tribes, since many of the latter were collected into towns, and employed in the labours of trade and agriculture. A part of their time and industry was still devoted to the management of their cattle: They mingled, in peace and war, with their brethren of the desert; and the Bedoweens derived from their useful intercourse, some supply of their wants, and some rudiments of art and knowledge. Among the forty-two cities of Arabia *, enumerated by Abulfeda, the most ancient and populous were situate in the *happy* Yemen; the

* Yet Marcian of Heraclea (in Periplo, p. 16. in tom. i. Hudson, Minor. Geograph.) reckons one hundred and sixty-four towns in Arabia Felix. The size of the towns might be small—the faith of the writer might be large.

C H A P.

L.

the towers of Saanā *, and the marvellous reservoir of Merab †, were constructed by the kings of the Homerites; but their profane lustre was eclipsed by the prophetic glories of MEDINA ‡ and MECCA §, near the Red Sea, and at the distance from each other of two hundred and seventy miles. The last of these holy places was known to the Greeks under the name of Macoraba; and the termination of the word is expressive of its greatness, which has not indeed, in the most flourishing period, exceeded the size and populousness of Marseilles. Some latent motive,

Q 2 perhaps

* It is compared by Abulfeda (in Hudson, tom. iii. p. 54.) to Damascus, and is still the residence of the Iman of Yemen, (*Voyages de Niebuhr*, tom. i. p. 331—342.) Saana is twenty-four parasangs from Dabar, (Abulfeda, p. 51.) and sixty-eight from Aden, (p. 53.)

† Pocock, Specimen, p. 57. *Geograph. Nubiensis*, p. 52. Meriaba, or Merab, six miles in circumference, was destroyed by the legions of Augustus, (Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 32.) and had not revived in the fourteenth century, (Abulfed. Descript. Arab. p. 58.)

‡ The name of city, *Medina*, was appropriated, κατ' ἐξουαν, to Yatreb, (the Iatrippa of the Greeks,) the seat of the prophet. The distances from Medina are reckoned by Abulfeda in stations, or days journey of a caravan, (p. 15.) to Bahrein, xv.; to Bassora, xviii.; to Cusah, xx.; to Damascus or Palestine, xx.; to Cairo, xxv.; to Mecca, x.; from Mecca to Saana, (p. 52.) or Aden, xxx.; to Cairo, xxxi days, or 412 hours; Shaw's Travels, p. 477.) which, according to the estimate of d'Anville, (*Mesures Itinéraires*, p. 99.) allows about twenty-five English miles for a day's journey. From the land of frankincense, (Hadramant, in Yemen, between Aden and Cape Fartasch,) to Gaza, in Syria, Pliny, (Hist. Nat. xii. 32.) computes lxv. mansions of camels. These measures may assist fancy and elucidate facts.

§ Our notions of Mecca must be drawn from the Arabians, (d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 368—371. Pocock, Specimen, p. 125—128. Abulfeda, p. 11—40.) As no unbeliever is permitted to enter the city, our travellers are silent; and the short hints of Thevenot (*Voyages du Levant*, part i. p. 490.) are taken from the suspicious mouth of an African renegado. Some Persians counted 6000 houses, (Chardin, tom. iv. p. 167.)

C H A P. perhaps of superstition, must have impelled the
 L. founders, in the choice of a most unpromising
 situation. They erected their habitations of mud
 or stone, in a plain about two miles long and one
 mile broad, at the foot of three barren moun-
 tains: The soil is a rock; the water even of the
 holy well of Zemzem is bitter or brackish; the
 pastures are remote from the city; and grapes
 are transported above seventy miles from the
 gardens of Tayef. The fame and spirit of the
 Koreishites, who reigned in Mecca, were conspi-
 cuous among the Arabian tribes; but their un-
 grateful soil refused the labours of agriculture,
 and their position was favourable to the enterprises
 her trade. of trade. By the sea-port of Gedda, at the dis-
 tance only of forty miles, they maintained an easy
 correspondence with Abyssinia; and that Christian
 kingdom afforded the first refuge to the disciples
 of Mahomet. The treasures of Africa were con-
 veyed over the peninsula to Gerrha or Katif, in
 the province of Bahrein, a city built, as it is said,
 of rock-salt, by the Chaldean exiles*; and from
 thence, with the native pearls of the Persian Gulf,
 they were floated on rafts to the mouth of the
 Euphrates. Mecca is placed almost at an equal
 distance, a month's journey, between Yemen on
 the right, and Syria on the left hand. The
 former was the winter, the latter the summer, sta-
 tion of her caravans; and their seasonable arrival
 relieved the ships of India from the tedious and
 troublesome navigation of the Red Sea. In the
 markets

* Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1110. See one of these salt houses near
 Bassora, in d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 6.

markets of Saana and Merab, in the harbours of Oman and Aden, the camels of the Koreishites were laden with a precious cargo of aromatics; a supply of corn and manufactures was purchased in the fairs of Bostra and Damascus; the lucrative exchange diffused plenty and riches in the streets of Mecca; and the noblest of her sons united the love of arms with the profession of merchandise *.

C H A P.

I.

The perpetual independence of the Arabs has been the theme of praise among strangers and natives; and the arts of controversy transform this singular event into a prophecy and a miracle, in favour of the posterity of Ismael †. Some exceptions, that can neither be dissembled nor eluded, render this mode of reasoning as indiscreet as it is superfluous: The kingdom of Yemen has been successively subdued by the Abyssinians, the Persians, the sultans of Egypt ‡, and the Turks §: The holy cities of Mecca and Medina

National
independence of
the Arabs.

Q 3

dina

* *Mirum dictū ex innumeris populis pars æqua in commerciis aut in latrociniiis degit*, (Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 32.) See Hale's Koran, Sural cvi. p. 503. Pocock, Specimen, p. 2. D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 361. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 5. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 72. 120. 126, &c.

† A nameless doctor (Universal Hist. vol. xx. octavo edition) has formally *demonstrated* the truth of Christianity by the independence of the Arabs. A critic, besides the exceptions of fact, might dispute the meaning of the text, (Gen. xvi. 12.) the extent of the application, and the foundation of the pedigree.

‡ It was subdued, A. D. 1173, by a brother of the great Saladin, who founded a dynasty of Curds or Ayoubites, (Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 425. D'Herbelot, p. 477.)

§ By the lieutenant of Soliman I. (A. D. 1538.) and Selim II. (1568.) See Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman empire, p. 201.

C H A P. dina have repeatedly bowed under a Scythian
 I. tyrant; and the Roman province of Arabia *
 embraced the peculiar wilderness in which Ismael and his sons must have pitched their tents in the face of their brethren. Yet these exceptions are temporary or local; the body of the nation has escaped the yoke of the most powerful monarchies: The arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never atchieve the conquest of Arabia; the present sovereign of the Turks † may exercise a shadow of jurisdiction, but his pride is reduced to solicit the friendship of a people, whom it is dangerous to provoke, and fruitless to attack. The obvious causes of their freedom are inscribed on the character and country of the Arabs. Many ages before Mahomet,

201. 221. The Pasha, who resided at Saana, commanded twenty-one Beys, but no revenue was ever remitted to the Porte, (Marsigli, *Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomanno*, p. 124.) and the Turks were expelled about the year 1630, (Niebuhr, p. 167, 168.)

* Of the Roman province, under the name of Arabia and the third Palestine, the principal cities were Bostra and Petra, which dated their æra from the year 105, when they were subdued by Palma, a lieutenant of Trajan, (Dion. Cassius, l. lxxviii.) Petra was the capital of the Nabathæans; whose name is derived from the eldest of the sons of Ismael, (Gen. xxv. 12, &c. with the Commentaries of Jerom, Le Clerc, and Calmet.) Justinian relinquished a palm country of ten days journey to the south of Ælah, (Procop. de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 19.) and the Romans maintained a centurion and a custom-house, (Arrian in *Peripio Maris Erythræi*, p. 11. in Hudson, tom. i.) at a place, (Λευκη κομμη, Pagus Albus Hawara,) in the territory of Medina, (d'Anville *Memoire sur l'Egypte*, p. 243.) These real possessions, and some naval inroads of Trajan, (Peripl. p. 14, 15.) are magnified by history and medals into the Roman conquest of Arabia.

† Niebuhr, (*Description de l'Arabie*, p. 302, 303. 329—331.) affords the most recent and authentic intelligence of the Turkish empire in Arabia.

homet *, their intrepid valour had been severely felt by their neighbours in offensive and defensive war. The patient and active virtues of a soldier are insensibly nursed in the habits and discipline of a pastoral life. The care of the sheep and camels is abandoned to the women of the tribe; but the martial youth under the banner of the emir, is ever on horseback, and in the field, to practise the exercise of the bow, the javelin, and the scymetar. The long memory of their independence is the firmest pledge of its perpetuity, and succeeding generations are animated to prove their descent, and to maintain their inheritance. Their domestic feuds are suspended on the approach of a common enemy; and in their last hostilities against the Turks,* the caravan of Mecca was attacked and pillaged by fourscore thousand of the confederates. When they advance to battle, the hope of victory is in the front; in the rear, the assurance of a retreat. Their horses and camels, who in eight or ten days can perform a march of four or five hundred miles, disappear before the conqueror; the secret waters of the desert elude his search; and his victorious troops are consumed with thirst, hunger, and fatigue, in the pursuit of an invisible foe, who scorns his efforts, and safely reposes in the heart of the burning solitude. The arms and deserts of the Bedoweens are not only the safeguards of their own freedom, but the barriers

Q 4

* Diodorus Siculus (tom. ii. l. xix. p. 390—393. edit. Wes-seling) has clearly exposed the freedom of the Nabathæan Arabs, who resisted the arms of Antigonus and his son.

C H A P. riers also of the happy Arabia, whose inhabitants,
 L. remote from war, are enervated by the luxury of
 the soil and climate. The legions of Augustus melted away in disease and lassitude *; and it is only by a naval power that the reduction of Yemen has been successfully attempted. When Mahomet erected his holy standard †, that kingdom was a province of the Persian empire; yet seven princes of the Homerites still reigned in the mountains; and the vicegerent of Chosroes was tempted to forget his distant country and his unfortunate master. The historians of the age of Justinian represent the state of the independent Arabs, who were divided by interest or affection in the long quarrel of the East: The tribe of *Gassan* was allowed to encamp on the Syrian territory: The princes of *Hira* were permitted to form a city about forty miles to the southward of the ruins of Babylon. Their service in the field was speedy and vigorous; but their friendship was venal, their faith inconstant, their enmity capricious: It was an easier task to excite than to disarm these roving Barbarians; and, in the familiar intercourse of war, they learned to see, and to despise, the splendid weakness both of Rome and of Persia. From Mecca to the Euphrates,

* Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1127—1129. Plin. Hist. Natur. vi. 32. *Ælius Gallus* landed near Medina, and marched near a thousand miles into the part of Yemen between Mareb and the Ocean. The non ante devictis Sabeæ regibus, (Od. i. p. 29.) and the intacti Arabum thesauri (Od. iii. 24.) of Horace, attest the virgin purity of Arabia.

† See the imperfect history of Yemen in Pocock, Specimen, p. 55—66. of *Hira*, p. 66—74. of *Gassan*, p. 75—78. as far as it could be known or preserved in the time of ignorance.

phrates, the Arabian tribes * were confounded by the Greeks and Latins, under the general appellation of SARACENS †, a name which every Christian mouth has been taught to pronounce with terror and abhorrence.

C H A P.

L.

The slaves of domestic tyranny may vainly exult in their national independence; but the Arab is personally free; and he enjoys, in some degree, the benefits of society, without forfeiting the prerogatives of nature. In every tribe, superstition, or gratitude, or fortune, has exalted a particular family above the heads of their equals. The dignities of sheich and emir invariably descend in this chosen race; but the order of succession is loose and precarious; and the most worthy or aged of the noble kinsmen are preferred to the simple, though important, office of composing

Their domestic freedom and character.

* The Σαρακηνικά φυλά, μυριάδες ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ὑψημονομαί, καὶ ἀδοσκέτοι, are described by Menander, (Excerpt. Legation, p. 149.) Procopius de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 17. 19. l. ii. c. 10.) and, in the most lively colours, by Ammianus Marcellinus, (l. xiv. c. 4.) who had spoken of them as early as the reign of Marcus.

† The name which, used by Ptolemy and Pliny in a more confined, by Ammianus and Procopius in a larger sense, has been derived, ridiculously from *Sarah*, the wife of Abraham, obscurely from the village of *Saraka*, (μετὰ Ναβαταίους. Stephan. de Urbibus,) more plausibly from the Arabic words, which signify a *thievish* character, or *Oriental* situation, (Holtzinger, Hist. Oriental. l. i. c. i. p. 7, 8. Pocock. Specimen, p. 33. 35. Asseman Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 567.) Yet the last and most popular of these etymologies is refuted by Ptolemy, (Arabia, p. 2. 18. in Hudson, tom. iv.) who expressly remarks the western and southern position of the Saracens, then an obscure tribe on the borders of Egypt. The appellation cannot therefore allude to any *national* character; and, since it was imposed by strangers, it must be found, not in the Arabic, but in a foreign language.

C H A P. composing disputes by their advice, and guiding
 L. valour by their example. Even a female of sense
 and spirit has been permitted to command the
 countrymen of Zenobia *. The momentary
 junction of several tribes produces an army; their
 more lasting union constitutes a nation; and the
 supreme chief, the emir of emirs, whose banner
 is displayed at their head, may deserve, in the
 eyes of strangers, the honours of the kingly name.
 If the Arabian princes abuse their power, they
 are quickly punished by the desertion of their
 subjects, who had been accustomed to a mild and
 parental jurisdiction. Their spirit is free, their
 steps are unconfined, the desert is open, and the
 tribes and families are held together by a mutual
 and voluntary compact. The softer natives of
 Yemen supported the pomp and majesty of a
 monarch; but if he could not leave his palace
 without endangering his life †, the active powers
 of government must have been devolved on his
 nobles and magistrates. The cities of Mecca and
 Medina present, in the heart of Asia, the form,
 or rather the substance, of a commonwealth. The
 grandfather of Mahomet, and his lineal ancestors,
 appear in foreign and domestic transactions as the
 princes

* Saraceni . . . mulieres aiunt in eos regnare, (*Expositio totius Mundi*, p. 3. in Hudson, tom. iii.) The reign of Mavia is famous in ecclesiastical story. Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 69. 83.

† Μη εἶναι ἐκ τῶν βασιλευσιν, is the report of Agatharades, (*de Mari Rubro*, p. 63, 64. in Hudson, tom. i.) Diodorus Siculus, (tom. i. l. iii. c. 47. p. 215.) and Strabo, (l. xvi. p. 1124.) But I much suspect that this is one of the popular tales, or extraordinary accidents, which the credulity of travellers so often transforms into a fact, a custom, and a law.

princes of their country ; but they reigned, like C H A P. Pericles at Athens, or the Medici at Florence, by L. the opinion of their wisdom and integrity ; their influence was divided with their patrimony ; and the sceptre was transferred from the uncles of the prophet to a younger branch of the tribe of Koreish. On solemn occasions they convened the assembly of the people ; and since mankind must be either compelled or persuaded to obey, the use and reputation of oratory among the ancient Arabs is the clearest evidence of public freedom *. But their simple freedom was of a very different cast from the nice and artificial machinery of the Greek and Roman republics, in which each member possessed an undivided share of the civil and political rights of the community. In the more simple state of the Arabs the nation is free, because each of her sons disdains a base submission to the will of a master. His breast is fortified with the austere virtues of courage, patience, and sobriety ; the love of independence prompts him to exercise the habits of self-command ; and the fear of dishonour guards him from the meaner apprehension of pain, of danger, and of death. The gravity and firmness of the mind is conspicuous in his outward demeanor ; his speech is slow, weighty, and concise ; he is seldom provoked to laughter ; his only gesture is that of stroking his beard, the venerable symbol of

* Non gloriabantur antiquitus Arabes, nisi gladio, hospite, et eloquentia, (Sephadius, apud Pocock, Specimen, p. 161, 162.) This gut of speech they shared only with the Persians ; and the seatentious Arabs would probably have disdained the simple and sublime logic of Demosthenes.

C H A P. of manhood ; and the sense of his own importance teaches him to accost his equals without levity, and his superiors without awe *. The liberty of the Saracens survived their conquests ; the first caliphs indulged the bold and familiar language of their subjects ; they ascended the pulpit to persuade and edify the congregation ; nor was it before the seat of empire was removed to the Tigris, that the Abbassides adopted the proud and pompous ceremonial of the Persian and Byzantine courts.

Civil wars
and private
revenge.

In the study of nations and men, we may observe the causes that render them hostile or friendly to each other, that tend to narrow or enlarge, to mollify or exasperate, the social character. The separation of the Arabs from the rest of mankind, has accustomed them to confound the ideas of stranger and enemy ; and the poverty of the land has introduced a maxim of jurisprudence, which they believe and practise to the present hour. They pretend, that in the division of the earth, the rich and fertile climates were assigned to the other branches of the human family ; and that the posterity of the outlaw Ismael might recover, by fraud or force, the portion of inheritance of which he had been unjustly deprived. According to the remark of Pliny, the Arabian tribes are equally addicted to theft and merchandise : The
caravans

* I must remind the reader that d'Arvieux, d'Herbelot, and Niebuhr, represent, in the most lively colours, the manners and government of the Arabs, which are illustrated by many incidental passages in the life of Mahomet.

caravans that traverse the desert are ransomed or pillaged; and their neighbours, since the remote times of Job and Sesostri^s *, have been the victims of their rapacious spirit. If a Bedoween discovers from afar a solitary traveller, he rides furiously against him, crying, with a loud voice, "Undress thyself, thy aunt (*my wife*) is without a garment." A ready submission entitles him to mercy; resistance will provoke the aggressor, and his own blood must expiate the blood which he presumes to shed in legitimate defence. A single robber, or a few associates, are branded with their genuine name; but the exploits of a numerous band assume the character of a lawful and honourable war. The temper of a people, thus armed against mankind, was doubly inflamed by the domestic licence of rapine, murder, and revenge. In the constitution of Europe, the right of peace and war is now confined to a small, and the actual exercise to a much smaller, list of respectable potentates; but each Arab, with impunity and renown, might point his javelin against the life of his countryman. The union of the nation consisted only in a vague resemblance of language and manners; and in each community, the jurisdiction of the magistrate was mute and impotent. Of the time of ignorance which preceded

C H A P.

L.



* Observe the first chapter of Job, and the long wall of 1500 stadia which Sesostri^s built from Pelusium to Heliopolis, (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. i. p. 67.) Under the name of *Hycsos*, the shepherd kings, they had formerly subdued Egypt, (Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 98—163, &c.)

C H A P. ceded Mahomet, seventeen hundred battles * are
 L. recorded by tradition: Hostility was embittered
 with the rancour of civil faction; and the recital
 in prose or verse, of an obsolete feud, was sufficient
 to rekindle the same passions among the descendants
 of the hostile tribes. In private life, every man,
 at least every family, was the judge and avenger
 of its own cause. The nice sensibility of honour,
 which weighs the insult rather than the injury,
 shed its deadly venom on the quarrels of the Arabs:
 The honour of their women, and of their *beards*,
 is most easily wounded; an indecent action, a
 contemptuous word, can be expiated only by the
 blood of the offender; and such is their patient
 inveteracy, that they expect whole months and
 years the opportunity of revenge. A fine or
 compensation for murder is familiar to the
 Barbarians of every age; but in Arabia the
 kinsmen of the dead are at liberty to accept the
 atonement, or to exercise with their own hands
 the law of retaliation. The refined malice of the
 Arabs refuses even the head of the murderer,
 substitutes an innocent to the guilty person, and
 transfers the penalty to the best and most
 considerable of the race by whom they have been
 injured. If he falls by their hands, they are
 exposed in their turn to the danger of reprisals,
 the interest

* Or, according to another account, 1200, (d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 75.) The two historians who wrote of the *Ayam al Arab*, the battles of the Arabs, lived in the ninth and tenth century. The famous war of Dahes and Gabrah was occasioned by two horses, lasted forty years, and ended in a proverb, (Bocock, *Specimen*, p. 48.)

interest and principal of the bloody debt are accumulated; the individuals of either family lead a life of malice and suspicion, and fifty years may sometimes elapse before the account of vengeance be finally settled *. This sanguinary spirit, ignorant of pity or forgiveness, has been moderated, however, by the maxims of honour, which require in every private encounter some decent equality of age and strength, of numbers and weapons. An annual festival of two, perhaps of four months, was observed by the Arabs before the time of Mahomet, during which their swords were religiously sheathed, both in foreign and domestic hostility; and this partial truce is more strongly expressive of the habits of anarchy and warfare †.

C H A P.
L.

Annual
truce.

But the spirit of rapine and revenge was attempered by the milder influence of trade and literature. The solitary peninsula is encompassed by the most civilized nations of the ancient world; the merchant is the friend of mankind; and the annual caravans imported the first seeds of knowledge and politeness into the cities, and even the camps of the desert. Whatever may be the pedigree of the Arabs, their language is derived from the

Their so-
cial quali-
fications,
and vir-
tues.

* The modern theory and practice of the Arabs in the revenge of murder, are described by Niebuhr, (Description, p. 26—31.) The harsher features of antiquity may be traced in the Koran, c. 2. p. 20. c. 17. p. 230. with Sale's Observations.

† Procopius (de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 16.) places the *two* holy months about the summer solstice. The Arabians consecrate *four* months of the year—the first, seventh, eleventh, and twelfth; and pretend, that in a long series of ages the truce was infringed only four or six times. (Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 147—150. and Notes on the ninth chapter of the Koran, p. 154; &c. Casiri, Bibliot. Hispano-Arabica, tom. ii. p. 20, 21.)

C H A P. same original stock with the Hebrew, the Syriac,
 L. and the Chaldæan tongues; the independence of
 the tribes was marked by their peculiar dialects *; but each, after their own, allowed a just preference to the pure and perspicuous idiom of Mecca. In Arabia as well as in Greece, the perfection of language outstripped the refinement of manners; and her speech could diversify the fourscore names of honey, the two hundred of a serpent, the five hundred of a lion, the thousand of a sword, at a time when this copious dictionary was entrusted to the memory of an illiterate people. The monuments of the Homerites were inscribed with an obsolete and mysterious character; but the Cufic letters, the ground work of the present alphabet, were invented on the banks of the Euphrates; and the recent invention was taught at Mecca by a stranger who settled in that city after the birth of Mahomet. The arts of grammar, of metre, and of rhetoric, were unknown to the freeborn eloquence of the Arabians; but their penetration was sharp, their fancy luxuriant, their wit strong and sententious †, and

* Arrian, in the second century, remarks, (in *Periplo Maris Erythraei*, p. 12.) the partial or total difference of the dialects of the Arabs. Their language and letters are copiously treated by Pocock, (*Specimen*, p. 150—154.) Casiri, *Bibliot. Hispano-Arabica*, (tom. i. p. 1. 83. 292. tom. ii. p. 25, &c.) and Niebuhr, (*Description de l'Arabie*, p. 72—86.) I pass slightly; I am not fond of repeating words like a parrot.

† A familiar tale in Voltaire's *Zadig* (*le Chien et le Cheval*) is related, to prove the natural sagacity of the Arabs; (d'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orient.* p. 120, 121. Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet*, tom. i. p. 37—46.) but d'Arvieux, or rather La Roque, (*Voyage de Palestine*, p. 92.) denies the boasted superiority of the Bedowæns. The one hundred and sixty-nine sentences of Ali (translated by Ockley, London, 1718.) afford a just and favourable specimen of Arabian wit.

and their more elaborate compositions were addressed with energy and effect to the minds of their hearers. The genius and merit of a rising poet was celebrated by the applause of his own and the kindred tribes. A solemn banquet was prepared, and a chorus of women, striking their tymbals, and displaying the pomp of their nuptials, sung in the presence of their sons and husbands the felicity of their native tribe; that a champion had now appeared to vindicate their rights; that a herald had raised his voice to immortalise their renown. The distant or hostile tribes resorted to an annual fair, which was abolished by the fanaticism of the first Moslems; a national assembly that must have contributed to refine and harmonise the Barbarians. Thirty days were employed in the exchange, not only of corn and wine, but of eloquence and poetry. The prize was disputed by the generous emulation of the bards; the victorious performance was deposited in the archives of princes and emirs; and we may read in our own language, the seven original poems which were inscribed in letters of gold, and suspended in the temple of Meccà*. The Arabian poets were the historians and moralists of the age; and if they sympathised with the prejudices, they inspired and crowned the virtues, of their countrymen. The indissoluble union of ge-

C H A P.
L.
Love of
poetry.

VOL. IX. R nerosity

* Pocock (Specimen, p. 158—161.) and Casiri (Bibliot. Hispano-Arabica, tom. i. p. 48. 84, &c. 119. tom. ii. p. 17, &c.) speak of the Arabian poets before Mahomet; the seven poems of the Caaba have been published in English by Sir William Jones; but his honourable mission to India has deprived us of his own notes, far more interesting than the obscure and obsolete text.

C H A P. nerosity and valour was the darling theme of their

L. song ; and when they pointed their keenest satire

— against a despicable race, they affirmed, in' the bitterness of reproach, that the men knew not

Examples of generosity. how to give, nor the women to deny*. The same hospitality, which was practised by Abraham and celebrated by Homer, is still renewed in the camps of the Arabs. The ferocious Bedoweens, the terror of the desert, embrace, without inquiry or hesitation, the stranger who dares to confide in their honour, and to enter their tent. His treatment is kind and respectful ; he shares the wealth or the poverty of his host ; and, after a needful repose, he is dismissed on his way, with thanks, with blessings, and perhaps with gifts. The heart and hand are more largely expanded by the wants of a brother or a friend ; but the heroic acts that could deserve the public applause, must have surpassed the narrow measure of discretion and experience. A dispute had arisen, who, among citizens of Mecca, was entitled to the prize of generosity ; and a successive application was made to the three who were deemed most worthy of the trial. Abdallah, the son of Abbas, had undertaken a distant journey, and his foot was in the stirrup when he heard the voice of a suppliant, “ O son of the uncle of the apostle of God, I am a traveller, and in distress !” He instantly dismounted to present the pilgrim with his camel, her rich caparison, and a purse of four thousand pieces of gold, excepting only the sword, either for its intrinsic value, or as the gift of an honoured kinsman,

* Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 29, 30.

kinsman. The servant of Kais informed the second suppliant that his master was asleep; but he immediately added, "Here is a purse of seven thousand pieces of gold, (it is all we have in the house,) and here is an order, that will entitle you to a camel and a slave:" The master, as soon as he awoke, praised and enfranchised his faithful steward, with a gentle reproof, that by respecting his slumbers he had stinted his bounty. The third of these heroes, the blind Arabah, at the hour of prayer, was supporting his steps on the shoulders of two slaves. "Alas!" he replied, "my coffers are empty! but these you may sell; if you refuse, I renounce them." At these words, pushing away the youths, he groped along the wall with his staff. The character of Hatem is the perfect model of Arabian virtue *; he was brave and liberal, an eloquent poet and a successful robber: Forty camels were roasted at his hospitable feast; and at the prayer of a suppliant enemy, he restored both the captives and the spoil. The freedom of his countrymen disdained the laws of justice: They proudly indulged the spontaneous impulse of pity and benevolence.

The religion of the Arabs †, as well as of the Indians, consisted in the worship of the sun, the

Ancient idolatry.

R 2

moon,

* D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 458. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 118. Caab and Hesnus (Pocock, Specimen, p. 43. 46. 48.) were likewise conspicuous for their liberality; and the latter is elegantly praised by an Arabian poet: "Videbis eum cum accesseris exultantem, ac si dares illi quod ab illo petis."

† Whatever can now be known of the idolatry of the ancient Arabians, may be found in Pocock. (Specimen, p. 89—136.

C H A P. moon, and the fixed stars, a primitive and specious
L. mode of superstition. The bright luminaries of
 the sky display the visible image of a Deity: Their
 number and distance convey to a philosophic, or
 even a vulgar eye, the idea of boundless space:
 The character of eternity is marked on these solid
 globes, that seem incapable of corruption or decay:
 The regularity of their motions may be ascribed to
 a principle of reason or instinct; and their real or
 imaginary influence encourages the vain belief that
 the earth and its inhabitants are the object of their
 peculiar care. The science of astronomy was cul-
 tivated at Babylon; but the school of the Arabs
 was a clear firmament and a naked plain. In their
 nocturnal marches, they steered by the guidance
 of the stars: Their names, and order, and daily
 station, were familiar to the curiosity and devotion
 of the Bedoween; and he was taught by experience
 to divide in twenty-eight parts, the zodiac of the
 moon, and to bless the constellations who refreshed,
 with salutary rains, the thirst of the desert. The
 reign of the heavenly orbs could not be extended
 beyond the visible sphere; and some metaphysical
 powers were necessary to sustain the transmigration
 of souls and the resurrection of bodies: A camel
 was left to perish on the grave, that he might serve
 his master in another life; and the invocation of
 departed spirits implies that they were still endowed
 with consciousness and power. I am ignorant, and
 I am careless, of the blind mythology of the Bar-
 barians;

136. 163, 164. His profound erudition is more clearly and
 concisely interpreted by Sale; (Preliminary Discourse, p. 14—
 24.) and Assemani (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 580—590.)
 has added some valuable remarks.

barians; of the local deities, of the stars, the air, and the earth, of their sex or titles, their attributes or subordination. Each tribe, each family, each independent warrior, created and changed the rites and the object of his fantastic worship; but the nation, in every age, has bowed to the religion, as well as to the language, of Mecca. The genuine antiquity of the CAABA ascends beyond the Christian æra: In describing the coast of the Red Sea, the Greek historian Diodorus * has remarked, between the Thamudites and the Sabæans, a famous temple, whose superior sanctity was revered by *all* the Arabians: The linen or silken veil, which is annually renewed by the Turkish emperor, was first offered by a pious king of the Homerites, who reigned seven hundred years before the time of Mahomet †. A tent or a cavern might suffice for the worship of the savages, but an edifice of stone and clay has been erected in its place; and the art and power of the monarchs of the East have been confined to the simplicity of the original

C H A P.
L.

The
Caaba or
temple of
Mecca.

R 3

model.

* *Ἱερὸν ἀγίατατον ἰδρυταὶ τιμωμένοιον ὑπο πάντων Ἀγαθον περίτο-
τινον.* (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. iii. p. 211.) The character and
position are so correctly apposite, that I am surprised how this
curious passage should have been read without notice or appli-
cation. Yet this famous temple had been overlooked by Aga-
tharcides, (de Mari Rubro, p. 58. in Hudson, tom. i.) whom
Diodorus copies in the rest of the description. Was the Sicil-
ian more knowing than the Egyptian? Or was the Caaba
built between the years of Rome 650 and 746, the dates of
their respective histories? (Dodwell, in Dissert. ad tom. i. Hud-
son, p. 72. Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. ii. p. 770.)

† Pocock, Specimen, p. 60, 61. From the death of Mahomet we ascend to 68, from his birth to 129 years, before the Christian æra. The veil or curtain, which is now of silk and gold, was no more than a piece of Egyptian linen. (Abulfeda, in Vit. Mohammed. c. 6. p. 14.)

CHAP. L. model *. A spacious portico incloses the quadrangle of the Caaba; a square chapel, twenty-four cubits long, twenty-three broad, and twenty-seven high: A door and a window admit the light; the double roof is supported by three pillars of wood; a spout (now of gold) discharges the rain-water, and the well Zemzem is protected by a dome from accidental pollution. The tribe of Koreish, by fraud or force, had acquired the custody of the Caaba: The sacerdotal office devolved through four lineal descents to the grandfather of Mahomet; and the family of the Hashemites, from whence he sprung, was the most respectable and sacred in the eyes of their country †. The precincts of Mecca enjoyed the rights of sanctuary; and, in the last month of each year, the city and the temple were crowded with a long train of pilgrims, who presented their vows and offerings in the house of God. The same rites, which are now accomplished by the faithful Mussulman, were invented and practised by the superstition of the idolaters. At an awful distance they cast away their garments; seven times, with hasty steps, they encircled the Caaba, and kissed the black stone; seven

* The original plan of the Caaba (which is servilely copied in Sale, the *Universal History*, &c.) was a Turkish draught, which Reland (*de Religione Mohammedica*, p. 113—123.) has corrected and explained from the best authorities. For the description and legend of the Caaba, consult Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 115—122.) the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of d'Herbelot, (*Caaba, Hagir, Zemzem*, &c.) and Sale, (*Preliminary Discourse*, p. 114—122.)

† Cosa, the fifth ancestor of Mahomet, must have usurped the Caaba, A. D. 440; but the story is differently told by Jannabi, (*Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet*, tom. i. p. 65—69.) and by Abulfeda, (*in Vit. Moham.* c. 6. p. 13.)

seven times they visited and adored the adjacent mountains; seven times they threw stones into the valley of Mina; and the pilgrimage was achieved, as at the present hour, by a sacrifice of sheep and camels, and the burial of their hair and nails in the consecrated ground. Each tribe either found or introduced in the Caaba their domestic worship; the temple was adorned, or defiled, with three hundred and sixty idols of men, eagles, lions, and antelopes; and most conspicuous was the statue of Hebal, of red agate, holding in his hand seven arrows, without heads or feathers, the instruments and symbols of profane divination. But this statue was a monument of Syrian arts; the devotion of the ruder ages was content with a pillar or a tablet; and the rocks of the desert were hewn into gods or altars, in imitation of the black stone * of Mecca, which is deeply tainted with the reproach of an idolatrous origin. From Japan to Peru, the use of sacrifice has universally prevailed; and the votary has expressed his gratitude, or fear, by destroying or consuming, in honour of the gods, the dearest and most precious of their gifts. The life of a man † is the most precious oblation to depre-

C H A P.

L.

Sacrifices
and rites.

R 4

cate

* In the second century, Maximus of Tyre attributes to the Arabs the worship of a stone—*Αραβιοι σιβαντι μιν, οστινα δε εκ αιδου, το δε αγαλμα υδου; λιθος η τετραγωνιος*; (dissert. viii. tom i. p. 142. edit. Reiske,) and the reproach is furiously re-echoed by the Christians. (Clemens Alex. in Protreptico, p. 40. Arnobius contra Gentes, l. vi. p. 246.) Yet these stones were no other than the *βαιτυλα* of Syria and Greece, so renowned in sacred and profane antiquity. (Euseb. Præp. Evangel. l. i. p. 37. Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 54—56.)

† The two horrid subjects of *Ανδροθυσια* and *Παιδοθυσια*, are accurately discussed by the learned Sir John Marsham. (Canon. Chron.

C H A P. cate a public calamity; the altars of Phœnicia
 L. and Egypt, of Rome and Carthage, have been
 polluted with human gore: The cruel practice
 was long preserved among the Arabs; in the third
 century, a boy was annually sacrificed by the
 tribe of the Dumatians*; and a royal captive was
 piously slaughtered by the prince of the Saracens,
 the ally and soldier of the emperor Justinian †.
 A parent who drags his son to the altar, exhibits
 the most painful and sublime effort of fanaticism;
 the deed, or the intention, was sanctified by the
 example of saints and heroes; and the father of
 Mahomet himself was devoted by a rash vow,
 and hardly ransomed for the equivalent of an
 hundred camels. In the time of ignorance, the
 Arabs, like the Jews and Egyptians, abstained
 from the taste of swine's flesh ‡; they circumcis-
 ed

Chron. p. 76—78. 301—304.) Sanchoniatho derives the Phœnician sacrifices from the example of Chronus; but we are ignorant whether Chronus lived before or after Abraham, or indeed whether he lived at all.

* *Kar' ites udsor paidsa sbur*, is the reproach of Porphyry; but he likewise imputes to the Roman the same barbarous custom, which, A. U. C. 657, had been finally abolished. Dumætha, Daumat al Gendal, is noticed by Ptolemy (Tabul. p. 37. Arabia, p. 9—29.) and Abulfeda; (p. 57.) and may be found in d'Anville's maps, in the mid-desert between Chaibar and Tadmor.

† Procopius, (de Bell. Persico, l. i. c. 28.) Evagrius, (l. vi. c. 21.) and Pocock, (Specimen, p. 72. 86.) attests the human sacrifices of the Arabs in the viith century. The danger and escape of Abdallah, is a tradition rather than a fact. (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 82—84.)

‡ Suillus carnisus abstinent, says Solinus, (Polyhistor. c. 33.) who copies Pliny (l. viii. c. 68) in the strange supposition, that hogs cannot live in Arabia. The Egyptians were actuated by a natural and superstitious horror for that unclean beast. (Marshall, Canon. p. 205.) The old Arabians likewise practised, *post coitum*, the

ed * their children at the age of puberty : The same customs, without the censure or the precept of the Koran, have been silently transmitted to their posterity and proselytes. It has been sagaciously conjectured, that the artful legislator indulged the stubborn prejudices of his countrymen. It is more simple to believe that he adhered to the habits and opinions of his youth, without foreseeing that a practice congenial to the climate of Mecca, might become useless or inconvenient on the banks of the Danube or the Volga.

C H A P.
L.

Arabia was free ; the adjacent kingdoms were shaken by the storms of conquest and tyranny, and the persecuted sects fled to the happy land where they might profess what they thought, and practise what they professed. The religions of the Sabians and Magians, of the Jews and Christians, were disseminated from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. In a remote period of antiquity, Sabianism was diffused over Asia by the science of the Chaldeans † and the arms of the Assyrians. From the observations of two thousand years, the priests and astronomers

Introduc-
tion of
the Sabi-
ans.

the rite of ablution, (Herodot. l. i. c. 80.) which is sanctified by the Mahometan law. (Reland, p. 75, &c. Chardin, or rather the *Mollab* of Shaw Abbas, tom. iv. p. 71, &c.)

* The Mahometan doctors are not fond of the subject ; yet they hold circumcision necessary to salvation, and even pretend that Mahomet was miraculously born without a foreskin. (Pocock, Specimen, p. 319, 320. Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 106, 107.)

† Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. ii. p. 142—145.) has cast on their religion the curious, but superficial, glance of a Greek. Their astronomy would be far more valuable : They had looked through the telescope of reason, since they could doubt whether the sun were in the number of the planets or of the fixed stars.

CHAP. choice was presented to the tribes: Each Arab
 L. was free to elect or to compose his private religion :
 { And the rude superstition of his house was mingled
 with the sublime theology of saints and philosophers. A fundamental article of faith was inculcated by the consent of the learned strangers ; the existence of one supreme God, who is exalted above the powers of heaven and earth, but who has often revealed himself to mankind by the ministry of his angels and prophets, and whose grace or justice has interrupted, by seasonable miracles, the order of nature. The most rational of the Arabs acknowledged his power, though they neglected his worship* ; and it was habit rather than conviction that still attached them to the relics of idolatry. The Jews and Christians were the people of the *book* ; the Bible was already translated into the Arabic language†, and the volume of the Old Testament was accepted by the concord of these implacable enemies. In the story of the Hebrew patriarchs, the Arabs were pleased to discover the fathers of their nation. They applauded the birth
 and

* In their offerings, it was a maxim to defraud God for the profit of the idol, not a more potent, but a more irritable patron. (Pocock, Specimen, p. 108, 109.)

† Our versions now extant, whether Jewish or Christian, appear more recent than the Koran; but the existence of a prior translation may be fairly inferred, 1. From the perpetual practice of the synagogue, of expounding the Hebrew lesson by a paraphrase in the vulgar tongue of the country. 2. From the analogy of the Armenian, Persian, Æthiopic versions, expressly quoted by the fathers of the fifth century, who assert that the Scriptures were translated into *all* the Barbaric languages. (Walton, Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglot. p. 34. 93—97. Simon, Hist. Critique du V. et du N. Testament, tom. i. p. 180, 181, 282—286. 293. 305, 306. tom. iv. p. 206.)

and promises of Ismael; revered the faith and virtue of Abraham; traced his pedigree and their own to the creation of the first man, and imbibed with equal credulity, the prodigies of the holy text, and the dreams and traditions of the Jewish rabbis.

CHAP.
L.

The base and plebeian origin of Mahomet is an unskilful calumny of the Christians*, who exalt instead of degrading the merit of their adversary. His descent from Ismael was a national privilege or fable; but if the first steps of the pedigree † are dark and doubtful, he could produce many generations of pure and genuine nobility: He sprung from the tribe of Koreish and the family of Hashem, the most illustrious of the Arabs, the princes of Mecca, and the hereditary guardians of the Caaba. The grandfather of Mahomet was Abdol Motaleb, the son of Hashem, a wealthy and generous citizen, who relieved the distress of famine with the supplies of commerce. Mecca, which had been fed by the liberality of the father, was saved by the courage of the son. The kingdom of Yemen was subject to the Christian princes of

Birth and education of Mahomet, A.D. 569—609.

* In eo conveniunt omnes, ut plebeio vilique genere ortum, &c. (Hottinger, Hist. Orient. p. 136.) Yet Theophanes, the most ancient of the Greeks, and the father of many a lie, confesses that Mahomet was of the race of Ismael, *αἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἰσραηλῆες φησὶν*. (Chronograph. p. 277.)

† Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohammed. c. 1, 2.) and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, p. 25—97.) describe the popular and approved genealogy of the prophet. At Mecca, I would not dispute its authenticity: At Lausanne, I will venture to observe, 1. *That* from Ismael to Mahomet, a period of 2500 years, they reckon thirty, instead of seventy five generations. 2. *That* the modern Bedoweens are ignorant of their history and careless of their pedigree. (Voyage d'Arvieux, p. 100. 103.)

CHAP. of Abyssinia; their vassal Abrahah was provoked
 L. by an insult to avenge the honour of the cross; and
 the holy city was invested by a train of elephants
 and an army of Africans. A treaty was proposed;
 and in the first audience, the grandfather of Ma-
 homet demanded the restitution of his cattle, "And
 " why," said Abrahah, " do you not rather implore
 " my clemency in favour of your temple, which I
 " have threatened to destroy?" " Because," re-
 plied the intrepid chief, " the cattle is my own;
 " the Caaba belongs to the gods, and *they* will de-
 fend their house from injury and sacrilege." The
 want of provisions, or the valour of the Koreish,
 compelled the Abyssinians to a disgraceful retreat;
 their discomfiture has been adorned with a miracu-
 lous flight of birds, who showered down stones on
 the heads of the infidels; and the deliverance was
 long commemorated by the æra of the elephant*.
 The glory of Abdol Motaleb was crowned with do-
 mestic happiness, his life was prolonged to the age
 of one hundred and ten years, and he became the
 father of six daughters and thirteen sons. His best
 beloved Abdallah was the most beautiful and mo-
 dest

Deliver-
 ance of
 Mecca.

* The seed of this history, or fable, is contained in the 105th chapter of the Koran; and Gagnier (in *Præfat. ad Vit. Moham.* p. 18, &c.) has translated the historical narrative of Abulfeda, which may be illustrated from d'Herbelot, (*Bibliot. Orientale*, p. 12.) and Pocock, (*Specimen*, p. 64.) Prideaux (*Life of Mahomet*, p. 48.) calls it a lie of the coinage of Mahomet; but Sale, (*Koran*, p. 501—503.) who is half a Mussulman, attacks the inconsistent faith of the Doctor for believing the miracles of the Delphic Apollo. Maracci (*Alcoran*, tom. i. part ii. p. 14. tom. ii. p. 823.) ascribes the miracle to the devil, and extorts from the Mahometans the confession, that God would not have defended against the Christians the idols of the Caaba.

C H A P.

I.

dest of the Arabian youth ; and in the first night, when he consummated his marriage with Amina, of the noble race of the Zahrites, two hundred virgins are said to have expired of jealousy and despair. Mahomet, or more properly Mohammed, the only son of Abdallah and Amina, was born at Mecca, four years after the death of Justinian, and two months after the defeat of the Abyssinians *, whose victory would have introduced into the Caaba the religion of the Christians. In his early infancy, he was deprived of his father, his mother, and his grandfather ; his uncles were strong and numerous ; and in the division of the inheritance, the orphan's share was reduced to five camels and an Ethiopian maid-servant. At home and abroad, in peace and war, Abu Taleb, the most respectable of his uncles, was the guide and guardian of his youth ; in his twenty-fifth year, he entered into the service of the Cadijah, a rich and noble widow of Mecca, who soon rewarded his fidelity with the gift of her hand and fortune. The marriage contract, in the simple stile of antiquity, recites the mutual love of Mahomet and Cadijah ; describes him as the most accomplished of the tribe of Koreish ;

* The safest æras of Abulfeda, (in Vit. c. i. p. 2.) of Alexander, or the Greeks, 882, of Bocht Naser, or Nabonasser, 1316, equally lead us to the year 569. The old Arabian calendar is too dark and uncertain to support the Benedictines, (Art. de verifier les Dates, p. 15.) who from the day of the month and week deduce a new mode of calculation, and remove the birth of Mahomet to the year of Christ 570, the 10th of November. Yet this date would agree with the year 882 of the Greeks, which is assigned by Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 5.) and Abulpharagius. (Dynast. p. 101. and Errata, Pocock's version.) While we refine our chronology, it is possible that the illiterate prophet was ignorant of his own age.

C H A P. reish ; and stipulates a dowry of twelve ounces of
 L. gold, and twenty camels, which was supplied by
 { the liberality of his uncle *. By this alliance, the
 son of Abdallah was restored to the station of his
 ancestors ; and the judicious matron was content
 with his domestic virtues, till, in the fortieth year
 of his age †, he assumed the title of a prophet,
 and proclaimed the religion of the Koran.

Qualifica-
 tions of
 the pro-
 phet.

According to the tradition of his companions,
 Mahomet ‡ was distinguished by the beauty of his
 person, an outward gift which is seldom despised,
 except by those to whom it has been refused. Be-
 fore he spoke, the orator engaged on his side the
 affections of a public or private audience. They
 applauded his commanding presence, his majestic
 aspect, his piercing eye, his gracious smile, his
 flowing

* I copy the honourable testimony of Abu Taleb to his family and nephew. *Laus Dei, qui nos a stirpe Abrahami et semine Ismaelis constituit, et nobis regionem sacram dedit, et nos iudices hominibus statuit. Porro Mohammed filius Abdollahi nepotis mei (nepos meus) quo cum ex æquo librabitur e Koraisidis quispiam cui non præponderaturus est, bonitate et excellentiâ, et intellectu et gloria et acumine etsi opuminops fuerit, (et certe opes umbra transiens sunt et depositum quod reddi debet,) desiderio Chadijæ filiæ Chowailedi tenetur, et illa vicissim ipsius, quicquid autem dotis vice petieritis, ego in me suscipiam, (Pocock, Specimen, e septimâ parte libri Ebn Hamduni.)*

† The private life of Mahomet, from his birth to his mission, is preserved by Abulfeda, (in Vit. c. 3—7.) and the Arabian writers of genuine or apocryphal note, who are alleged by Hottinger, (Hist. Orient. p. 204—211.) Maracci (tom. i. p. 10—14.) and Gagnier. (Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 97—134.)

‡ Abulfeda, in Vit. c. lxxv, lxxvi. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 272—289 ; the best traditions of the person and conversation of the prophet are derived from Ayesha, Ali and Abu Horaira. (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 267. Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 149.) surnamed the father of a cat, who died in the year 59 of the Hegira.

C H A P.
L.

flowing beard, his countenance that painted every sensation of the soul, and his gestures that enforced each expression of the tongue. In the familiar offices of life he scrupulously adhered to the grave and ceremonious politeness of his country; his respectful attention to the rich and powerful was dignified by his condescension and affability to the poorest citizens of Mecca; the frankness of his manner concealed the artifice of his views; and the habits of courtesy were imputed to personal friendship or universal benevolence. His memory was capacious and retentive, his wit easy and social, his imagination sublime, his judgment clear, rapid, and decisive. He possessed the courage both of thought and action; and, although his designs might gradually expand with his success, the first idea which he entertained of his divine mission bears the stamp of an original and superior genius. The son of Abdallah was educated in the bosom of the noblest race, in the use of the purest dialect of Arabia; and the fluency of his speech was corrected and enhanced by the practice of discreet and seasonable silence. With these powers of eloquence, Mahomet was an illiterate Barbarian; his youth had never been instructed in the arts of reading and writing *; the common ignorance exempted him

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S

from

* Those who believe that Mahomet could read or write, are incapable of reading what is written, with another pen, in the Surats, or chapters of the Koran vii. xxix. xcvi. These texts, and the tradition of the Sonna, are admitted without doubt, by Abulfeda, (in Vit. c. vii.) Gagnier, (Not. ad Abulfed. p. 15.) Pocock, (Specimen, p. 151.) Reland, (de Religione Mohammedicâ, p. 236.) and Sale, (Preliminary Discourse, p. 42.) Mr White, almost alone, denies the ignorance, to accuse the imposture,

CHAP. from shame or reproach, but he was reduced to
 L. a narrow circle of existence, and deprived of
 those faithful mirrors, which reflect to our mind
 the minds of sages and heroes. Yet the book of
 nature and of man was open to his view; and some
 fancy has been indulged in the political and philosophical observations which are ascribed to the Arabian traveller *. He compares the nations and the religions of the earth; discovers the weakness of the Persian and Roman monarchies; beholds, with pity and indignation, the degeneracy of the times; and resolves to unite, under one God and one king, the invincible spirit and primitive virtues of the Arabs. Our more accurate inquiry will suggest, that instead of visiting the courts, the camps, the temples of the East, the two journeys of Mahomet into Syria were confined to the fairs of Bostra and Damascus; that he was only thirteen years of age when he accompanied the

imposture, of the prophet. His arguments are far from satisfactory. Two short trading journeys to the fairs of Syria, were surely not sufficient to infuse a science so rare among the citizens of Mecca; it was not in the cool deliberate act of a treaty that Mahomet would have dropped the mask; nor can any conclusion be drawn from the words of disease and delirium. The lettered youth, before he aspired to the prophetic character, must have often exercised, in private life, the arts of reading and writing; and his first converts of his own family, would have been the first to detect and upbraid his scandalous hypocrisy. White's Sermons, p. 203, 204. Notes, p. xxxvi—xxxviii.

* The Count de Boulainvilliers (Vie de Mahommed, p. 202—228.) leads his Arabian pupil, like the Telemachus of Fenelon, or the Cyrus of Ramsay. His journey to the court of Persia is probably a fiction; nor can I trace the origin of his exclamation, "Les Grecs sont pourtant des hommes." The two Syrian journeys are expressed by almost all the Arabian writers, both Mahometans and Christians. (Gagnier ad Abulfed. p. 10.)

the caravan of his uncle, and that his duty com- C H A P.
 pelled him to return as soon as he had disposed of L.
 the merchandise of Cadijah. In these hasty and —
 superficial excursions, the eye of genius might
 discern some objects invisible to his grosser com-
 panions ; some seeds of knowledge might be cast
 upon a fruitful soil ; but his ignorance of the Sy-
 riac language must have checked his curiosity ;
 and I cannot perceive, in the life or writings of
 Mahomet, that his prospect was far extended be-
 yond the limits of the Arabian world. From every
 region of that solitary world, the pilgrims of Mecca
 were annually assembled, by the calls of devotion
 and commerce : In the free concourse of multi-
 tudes, a simple citizen, in his native tongue, might
 study the political state and character of the tribes,
 the theory and practice of the Jews and Chris-
 tians. Some useful strangers might be tempted,
 or forced, to implore the rights of hospitality ;
 and the enemies of Mahomet have named the
 Jew, the Persian, and the Syrian monk, whom
 they accuse of lending their secret aid to the com-
 position of the Koran *. Conversation enriches
 the understanding, but solitude is the school of ge-
 nius ; and the uniformity of a work denotes the hand
 of a single artist. From his earliest youth, Maho-
 met was addicted to religious contemplation ; each
 year, during the month of Ramadan, he withdrew

S 2

from

* I am not at leisure to pursue the fables or conjectures which name the strangers accused or suspected by the infidels of Mecca ; (Koran, c. 16. p. 223. c. 35. p. 297. with Sale's Remarks. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 22—27. Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 11. 74. Maracci, tom. ii. p. 400.) Even Prideaux has observed, that the transaction must have been secret, and that the scene lay in the heart of Arabia.

CHAP. from the world and from the arms of Cadijah :

L. In the cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca *,
 he consulted the spirit of fraud or enthusiasm,
 whose abode is not in the heavens, but in the
 mind of the prophet. The faith which, under the
 name of *Islam*, he preached to his family and na-
 tion, is compounded of an eternal truth, and a ne-
 cessary fiction, THAT THERE IS ONLY ONE GOD, AND
 THAT MAHOMET IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD.

One God. It is the boast of the Jewish apologists, that
 while the learned nations of antiquity were deluded
 by the fables of polytheism, their simple ancestors
 of Palestine preserved the knowledge and worship
 of the true God. The moral attributes of Jehovah
 may not easily be reconciled with the standard of
human virtue ; his metaphysical qualities are dark-
 ly expressed ; but each page of the Pentateuch and
 the Prophets is an evidence of his power : The
 unity of his name is inscribed on the first table of
 the law ; and his sanctuary was never defiled by
 any visible image of the invisible essence. After
 the ruin of the temple, the faith of the Hebrew ex-
 iles was purified, fixed, and enlightened, by the spi-
 ritual devotion of the synagogue ; and the authority
 of Mahomet will not justify his perpetual reproach,
 that the Jews of Mecca or Medina adored Ezra as
 the son of God †. But the children of Israel had
 ceased

* Abulfeda in Vit. c. 7. p. 15. Gagnier, tom. i. p. 133. 135.
 The situation of Mount Hera is remarked by Abulfeda, (Geo-
 graph. Arab. p. 4.) Yet Mahomet had never read of the cave
 of Egeria, ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ, of the Idæ-
 an Mount, where Minos conversed with Jove, &c.

† Koran, c. 9. p. 153. Al Beidawi, and the other com-
 mentators quoted by Sale, adhere to the charge ; but I do not
 understand that it is coloured by the most obscure or absurd
 tradition of the Talmudists.

ceased to be a people ; and the religions of the world were guilty, at least in the eyes of the prophet, of giving sons, or daughters, or companions, to the supreme God. In the rude idolatry of the Arabs, the crime is manifest and audacious : The Sabians are poorly excused by the pre-eminence of the first planet, or intelligence in their coelestial hierarchy ; and in the Magian system the conflict of the two principles betrays the imperfection of the conqueror. The Christians of the seventh century had insensibly relapsed into a semblance of paganism ; their public and private vows were addressed to the relics and images that disgraced the temples of the East : The throne of the Almighty was darkened by a cloud of martyrs, and saints, and angels, the objects of popular veneration ; and the Collyridian heretics, who flourished in the fruitful soil of Arabia, invested the Virgin Mary with the name and honours of a goddess *. The mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation appear to contradict the principle of the divine unity. In their obvious sense, they introduce three equal deities, and transform the man Jesus into the substance of the son of-God † ; an orthodox comment-

S 3

ary

* Holtinger, Hist. Orient. p. 225—228. The Collyridian heresy was carried from Thrace to Arabia by some women, and the name was borrowed from the *καλλυρίς*, or cake, which they offered to the goddess. This example, that of Beryllus, bishop of Bostra, (Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. vi. c. 33.) and several others, may excuse the reproach, Arabia hæresean ferax.

† The three gods in the Koran (c. 4. p. 81. c. 5. p. 92.) are obviously directed against our Catholic mystery ; but the Arabic commentators understand them of the Father, the Son, and the Virgin Mary, an heretical Trinity, maintained, as it is said, by some

CHAP. L. ary will satisfy only a believing mind: Intemperate curiosity and zeal had torn the veil of the sanctuary; and each of the Oriental sects was eager to confess that all, except themselves, deserved the reproach of idolatry and polytheism. The creed of Mahomet is free from suspicion or ambiguity; and the Koran is a glorious testimony to the unity of God. The prophet of Mecca rejected the worship of idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle, that whatever rises must set, that whatever is born must die, that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish *. In the author of the universe, his rational enthusiasm confessed and adored an infinite and eternal being, without form or place, without issue or similitude, present to our most secret thoughts, existing by the necessity of his own nature, and deriving from himself all moral and intellectual perfection. These sublime truths, thus announced in the language of the prophet †, are firmly held by his disciples, and defined with metaphysical precision by the interpreters of the Koran. A philosophic

some Barbarians at the council of Nice; (Eutych. Annal. tom. i. p. 440.) But the existence of the *Manichees* is denied by the candid Beausobre; (Hist. de Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 532.) and he derives the mistake from the word *Ruh*, the Holy Ghost, which, in some Oriental tongues, is of the feminine gender, and is figuratively stiled the Mother of Christ in the gospel of the Nazarenes.

* This train of thought is philosophically exemplified in the character of Abraham, who opposed in Chaldæa the first introduction of idolatry; (Koran, c. 6. p. 106 d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 13.)

† See the Koran, particularly the second, (p. 30.) the fifty-seventh, (p. 437.) the fifty-eight (p. 441.) chapter, which proclaim the omnipotence of the Creator.

sophic Athiest might subscribe the popular creed of the Mahometans *: A creed too sublime perhaps for our present faculties. What object remains for the fancy, or even the understanding, when we have abstracted from the unknown substance all ideas of time and space, of motion and matter, of sensation and reflection? The first principle of reason and revelation was confirmed by the voice of Mahomet: His proselytes, from India to Morrocco, are distinguished by the name of *Unitarians*; and the danger of idolatry has been prevented by the interdiction of images. The doctrine of eternal decrees and absolute predestination is strictly embraced by the Mahometans; and they struggle with the common difficulties, *how* to reconcile the prescience of God with the freedom and responsibility of man; *how* to explain the permission of evil under the reign of infinite power and infinite goodness.

C H A P.
L.

The God of nature has written his existence on all his works, and his law in the heart of man. To restore the knowledge of the one and the practice of the other, has been the real or pretended aim of the prophets of every age; the liberality of Mahomet allowed to his predecessors the same credit which he claimed for himself; and the chain of inspiration was prolonged from the fall of Adam

Mahomet
the apostle of God,
and the
last of the
prophets.

S 4

to

* The most orthodox creeds are translated by Pocock, (Specimen, p. 274. 284—292.) Ockley, (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. lxxxii—xcv.) Reland, (de Religion. Moham. l. i. p. 7—13.) and Chardin, (Voyages en Perse, tom. iv. p. 4—28.) The great truth that God is without similitude, is foolishly criticised by Maracci, (Alcoran, tom. i. part iii. p. 87—94.) because he made man after his own image.

C H A P. to the promulgation of the Koran *. During that
L. period, some rays of prophetic light had been im-
 parted to one hundred and twenty-four thousand
 of the elect, discriminated by their respective mea-
 sure of virtue and grace; three hundred and
 thirteen apostles were sent with a special commis-
 sion to recal their country from idolatry and vice;
 one hundred and four volumes have been dictated
 by the Holy Spirit; and six legislators of transcen-
 dent brightness have announced to mankind the
 six successive revelations of various rites, but of
 one immutable religion. The authority and station
 of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, and
 Mahomet, rise in just gradation above each other;
 but whosoever hates or rejects any one of the pro-
 phets is numbered with the infidels. The writ-
 ings of the patriarchs were extant only in the apo-
 cryphal copies of the Greeks and Syrians †; the
 conduct of Adam had not entitled him to the gra-
 titude or respect of his children; the seven pre-
 cepts of Noah were observed by an inferior and
 imperfect class of the proselytes of the synagogue ‡;
 and the memory of Abraham was obscurely re-
 vered

Moses,

* Reland, de Relig. Moham. l. i. p. 17—47. Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 73—76. Voyage de Chardin, tom. iv. p. 28—3. and 37—47. for the Persian addition, "Ali is the vicar of God!" Yet the precise number of prophets is not an article of faith.

† For the apocryphal books of Adam, see Fabricius, Codex Pseudepigraphus V. T. p. 27—29.; of Seth, p. 154—157.; of Enoch, p. 160—210. But the book of Enoch is consecrated, in some measure, by the quotation of the apostle St Jude; and a long legendary fragment is alleged by Syncellus and Scaliger.

‡ The seven precepts of Noah are explained by Marsham, (Canon Chronicus, p. 15.—180.) who adopts, on this occasion, the learning and credulity of Selden.

vered by the Sabians in his native land of Chaldæa; C H A P.
of the myriads of prophets, Moses and Christ alone L.
lived and reigned; and the remnant of the inspired {
writings was comprised in the books of the Old
and the New Testament. The miraculous story of
Moses is consecrated and embellished in the Ko-
ran *; and the captive Jews enjoy the secret re-
venge of imposing their own belief on the nations
whose recent creeds they deride. For the author
of Christianity, the Mahometans are taught by the
prophet to entertain an high and mysterious re-
verence †. “ Verily, Christ Jesus, the son of Jesus.
“ Mary, is the apostle of God, and his word, which
“ he conveyed unto Mary, and a Spirit proceed-
“ ing from him: Honourable in this world, and
“ in the world to come; and one of those who
“ approach near to the presence of God ‡.” The
wonders of the genuine and apocryphal gospels §
are profusely heaped on his head; and the Latin
church has not disdained to borrow from the
Koran

* The articles of *Adam, Noab, Abrabam, Moses, &c.* in the Bibliotheque of d'Herbelot, are gaily bedecked with the fanciful legends of the Mahometans, who have built on the groundwork of Scripture and the Talmud.

† Koran, c. 7. p. 128, &c. c. 10. p. 173, &c. D'Herbelot, p. 647, &c.

‡ Koran, c. 3. p. 40. c. 4. p. 80. D'Herbelot, p. 399, &c.

§ See the gospel of St Thomas, or of the Infancy, in the Codex Apocryphus N. T. of Fabricius, who collects the various testimonies concerning it. (p. 128—158.) It was published in Greek by Cotelier, and in Arabic by Sike, who thinks our present copy more recent than Mahomet. Yet his quotations agree with the original about the speech of Christ in his cradle, his living birds of clay, &c. (*Sike*, c. 1. p. 168, 169. c. 36. p. 198, 199. c. 46. p. 206. *Cotelier*, c. 2. p. 160, 161.)

C H A P. Koran the immaculate conception * of his virgin

L. mother. Yet Jesus was a mere mortal; and, at
 { the day of judgment, his testimony will serve to
 condemn both the Jews, who reject him as a prophet, and Christians, who adore him as the Son of God. The malice of his enemies aspersed his reputation, and conspired against his life; but their intention only was guilty, a phantom or a criminal was substituted on the cross, and the innocent saint was translated to the seventh heaven †. During six hundred years the gospel was the way of truth and salvation; but the Christians insensibly forgot both the laws and the example of their founder; and Mahomet was instructed by the Gnostics to accuse the church, as well as the synagogue, of corrupting the integrity of the sacred text ‡. The
 piety

* It is darkly hinted in the Koran, (c. 3. p. 39.) and more clearly explained by the tradition of the Sonnites, (Sale's Note, and Maracci, tom. ii. p. 112.) In the twelfth century, the immaculate conception was condemned by St Bernard as a presumptuous novelty. (Era Paolo, Istoria del Concilio di Trento, l. ii.)

† See the Koran, c. 3. v. 53. and c. 4. v. 156. of Maracci's edition. *Deus est præstantissimus dolose agentium*, (an odd praise) . . . *nec crucifixerunt eum, sed objecta est eis similitudo*: An expression that may suit with the system of the Docetes; but the commentators believe, (Maracci, tom. ii. p. 113—115. 173. Sale, p. 42, 43. 79.) that another man, a friend or an enemy, was crucified in the likeness of Jesus; a fable which they had read in the gospel of St Barnabas, and which had been started as early as the time of Irenæus, by some Ebionite heretics, (Beausobre, Hist. du Manichisme, tom. ii. p. 25. Mosheim de Reb. Christ. p. 353.)


‡ This charge is obscurely urged in the Koran; (c. 3. p. 45.) but neither Mahomet, nor his followers, are sufficiently versed in languages and criticism to give any weight or colour to their suspicions. Yet the Arians and Nestorians could relate some stories, and the illiterate prophet might listen to the bold assertions of the Manichæans. See Beausobre, tom. i. p. 291—305.

piety of Moses and of Christ rejoiced in the assurance of the future prophet, more illustrious than themselves : The evangelic promise of the *Paraclete*, or Holy Ghost, was prefigured in the name, and accomplished in the person, of Mahomet *, the greatest and last of the apostles of God.

The communication of ideas requires a similitude of thought and language ; the discourse of a philosopher would vibrate, without effect, on the ear of a peasant ; yet how minute is the distance of *their* understandings, if it be compared with the contact of an infinite and a finite mind, with the word of God expressed by the tongue or the pen of a mortal ? The inspiration of the Hebrew prophets, of the apostles and evangelists of Christ, might not be incompatible with the exercise of their reason and memory ; and the diversity of their genius is strongly marked in the stile and composition of the books of the Old and New Testament. But Mahomet was content with a character, more humble, yet more sublime, of a simple editor : The substance of the Koran †, according to himself

* Among the prophecies of the Old and New Testament, which are perverted by the fraud or ignorance of the Mussulmans, they apply to the prophet the promise of the *Paraclete*, or Comforter, which had been already usurped by the Montanists and Manichæans ; (Beausobre, *Hist. Critique du Manichéisme*, tom. i. p. 263, &c.) and the easy change of letters, *παρακλητος* for *παραλλητος*, affords the etymology of the name of Mohammed ; (Maracci, tom. i. part i. p. 15—28.)

† For the Koran, see d'Herbelot, p. 85—88. Maracci, tom. i. in *Vit. Mahammed.* p. 32—45. Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 56—70.

C H A P. self or his disciples, is uncreated and eternal ; sub-
L.  sisting in the essence of the Deity, and inscribed
with a pen of light on the table of his everlasting
decrees. A paper copy in a volume of silk and
gems, was brought down to the lowest heaven by
the angel Gabriel, who, under the Jewish œcono-
my, had indeed been dispatched on the most impor-
tant errands ; and this trusty messenger successive-
ly revealed the chapters and verses to the Arabian
prophet. Instead of a perpetual and perfect mea-
sure of the divine will, the fragments of the Koran
were produced at the discretion of Mahomet ; each
revelation is suited to the emergencies of his policy
or passion ; and all contradiction is removed by
the saving maxim, that any text of scripture is
abrogated or modified by any subsequent passage.
The word of God, and of the apostle, was dili-
gently recorded by his disciples on palm-leaves
and the shoulder-bones of mutton ; and the pages,
without order or connection, were cast into a do-
mestic chest, in the custody of one of his wives.
Two years after the death of Mahomet, the sacred
volume was collected and published by his friend
and successor Abubeker ; the work was revised by
the caliph Othman, in the thirtieth year of the
Hegira ; and the various editions of the Koran as-
sert the same miraculous privilege of an uniform
and incorruptible text. In the spirit of enthusiasm
or vanity, the prophet rests the truth of his mission
on the merit of his book, audaciously challenges
both men and angels to imitate the beauties of a
single page, and presumes to assert that God alone
could

could dictate this incomparable performance *. C H A P. L.
 This argument is most powerfully addressed to a devout Arabian, whose mind is attuned to faith and rapture, whose ear is delighted by the music of sounds, and whose ignorance is incapable of comparing the productions of human genius †. The harmony and copiousness of stile will not reach, in a version, the European infidel; he will peruse, with impatience, the endless incoherent rhapsody of fable, and precept, and declamation, which seldom excites a sentiment or an idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds. The divine attributes exalt the fancy of the Arabian missionary; but his loftiest strains must yield to the sublime simplicity of the book of Job, composed in a remote age, in the same country, and in the same language ‡. If the composition of the Koran exceed the faculties of a man, to what superior intelligence should we ascribe the Iliad of Homer, or the Philippics of Demosthenes? In all religions, the life of the founder

* Koran, c. 17. v. 89. In Sale, p. 235, 236. In Maracci, p. 410.

† Yet a sect of Arabians was persuaded, that it might be equalled or surpassed by an human pen; (Pocock, Specimen, p. 221, &c.) and Maracci (the polemic is too hard for the translator) derides the rhyming affectation of the most applauded passage, (tom. i. part ii. p. 69—75.)

‡ Colloquia (whether real or fabulous) in media Arabia atque ab Arabibus habita, (Lowth, de Poesi Hebræorum Prælect. xxxii. xxxiii. xxxiv. with his German editor Michaelis, Epimeton iv.) Yet Michaelis (p. 671—673.) has detected many Egyptian images, the elephantiasis, papyrus, Nile, crocodile, &c. The language is ambiguously stiled, *Arabico-Hebræa*. The resemblance of the sister dialects was much more visible in their childhood than in their mature age; (Michaelis, p. 682. Schultens, in Præfat. Job.)

C H A P. founder supplies the silence of his written revelation : The sayings of Mahomet were so many lessons of truth ; his actions so many examples of virtue ; and the public and private memorials were preserved by his wives and companions. At the end of two hundred years, the *Sonna*, or oral law, was fixed and consecrated by the labours of Al Bochari, who discriminated seven thousand two hundred and seventy-five genuine traditions, from a mass of three hundred thousand reports, of a more doubtful or spurious character. Each day the pious author prayed in the temple of Mecca, and performed his ablutions with the water of Zemzem : The pages were successively deposited on the pulpit, and the sepulchre of the apostle ; and the work has been approved by the four orthodox sects of the Sonnites *.

Miracles.

The mission of the ancient prophets, of Moses and of Jesus, had been confirmed by many splendid prodigies ; and Mahomet was repeatedly urged, by the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina, to produce a similar evidence of his divine legation ; to call down from heaven the angel or the volume of his revelation, to create a garden in the desert, or to kindle a conflagration in the unbelieving city. As often as he is pressed by the demands of the Koreish, he involves himself in the obscure boast of vision and prophecy, appeals to the internal proofs of his doctrine, and shields himself behind the providence of God, who refuses

* Al Bochari died A. H. 224. See d'Herbelot, p. 208. 416. 827. Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. c. 19. p. 33.

fuses those signs and wonders that would depreciate the merit of faith and aggravate the guilt of infidelity. But the modest or angry tone of his apologies betrays his weakness and vexation; and these passages of scandal establish, beyond suspicion, the integrity of the Koran *. The votaries of Mahomet are more assured than himself of his miraculous gifts, and their confidence and credulity increase as they are farther removed from the time and place of his spiritual exploits. They believe or affirm that trees went forth to meet him; that he was saluted by stones; that water gushed from his fingers; that he fed the hungry, cured the sick, and raised the dead; that a beam groaned to him; that a camel complained to him; that a shoulder of mutton informed him of its being poisoned; and that both animate and inanimate nature were equally subject to the apostle of God †. His dream of a nocturnal journey is seriously described as a real and corporeal transaction. A mysterious animal, the Borak, conveyed him from the temple of Mecca to that of Jerusalem: With his companion Gabriel,

* See more remarkably, Koran, c. 2. 6. 12, 13. 17. Prideaux (*Life of Mahomet*, p. 18, 19.) has confounded the impostor. Maracci, with a more learned apparatus, has shewn that the passages which deny his miracles are clear and positive, (*Alcoran*, tom. i. part ii. p. 7—12.) and those which seem to assert them, are ambiguous and insufficient; (p. 12—22.)

† See the *Specimen Hist. Arabum*, the text of Abulpharagius, p. 17. the notes of Pocock, p. 187—190. D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 76, 77. *Voyages de Chardin*, tom. iv. p. 200—203. Maracci (*Alcoran*, tom. i. p. 22—64.) has most laboriously collected and confuted the miracles and prophecies of Mahomet, which, according to some writers, amount to three thousand.

CHAP. briel, he successively ascended the seven heavens,
 L. and received and repaid the salutations of the pa-
 triarchs, the prophets, and the angels, in their
 respective mansions. Beyond the seventh heaven, Mahomet alone was permitted to proceed; he passed the veil of unity, approached within two bow-shots of the throne, and felt a cold that pierced him to the heart, when his shoulder was touched by the hand of God. After this familiar though important conversation, he again descended to Jerusalem, remounted the Borak, returned to Mecca, and performed in the tenth part of a night the journey of many thousand years*. According to another legend, the apostle confounded in a national assembly the malicious challenge of the Koreish. His resistless word split asunder the orb of the moon; The obedient planet stooped from her station in the sky, accomplished the seven revolutions round the Caaba, saluted Mahomet in the Arabian tongue, and suddenly contracting her dimensions, entered at the collar, and issued forth through the sleeve, of his shirt†.

The

* The nocturnal journey is circumstantially related by Abulfeda, (in Vit. Mohammed. c. 19. p. 33.) who wishes to think it a vision; by Prideaux, (p. 31—40.) who aggravates the absurdities; and by Gagnier, (tom. i. p. 252—343.) who declares, from the zealous Al Jannabi, that to deny this journey, is to disbelieve the Koran. Yet the Koran, without naming either heaven or Jerusalem, or Mecca, has only dropped a mysterious hint: *Laus illi qui transtulit servum suum ab oratorio Haram ad oratorium remotissimum.* (Koran, c. 17. v. 1. in Maracci, tom. ii. p. 407.; for Sale's version is more licentious.) A slender basis for the aerial structure of tradition.

† In the prophetic stile, which uses the present or past for the future, Mahomet had said: *Appropinquavit hora et scissa est luna.* (Koran, c. 54. v. 1. in Maracci, tom. ii. p. 688.) This figure

The vulgar are amused with these marvellous tales ; but the gravest of the Mussulman doctors imitate the modesty of their master, and indulge a latitude of faith or interpretation *. They might speciously allege, that in preaching the religion, it was needless to violate the harmony of nature ; that a creed unclouded with mystery may be excused from miracles ; and that the sword of Mahomet was not less potent than the rod of Moses.

C H A P.

L.

The polytheist is oppressed and distracted by the variety of superstition : A thousand rites of Egyptian origin were interwoven with the essence of the Mosaic law : And the spirit of the gospel had evaporated in the pageantry of the church. The prophet of Mecca was tempted by prejudice, or policy, or patriotism, to sanctify the rites of the Arabians, and the custom of visiting the holy stone of the Caaba. But the precepts of Mahomet himself inculcate a more simple and rational piety : Prayer, fasting, and alms, are the religious duties of a Mussulman ; and he is encouraged

Precepts
of Mahomet—
prayer,
fasting,
alms.

VOL. IX.

T

courage

figure of rhetoric has been converted into a fact, which is said to be attested by the most respectable eye witnesses. (Maracci, tom. ii. p. 690.) The festival is still celebrated by the Persians ; (Chardin, tom. iv. p. 201.) and the legend is tediously spun out by Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 183—234.) on the faith, as it should seem, of the credulous Al Jannabi. Yet a Mahometan doctor has arraigned the credit of the principal witness ; (apud Pocock, Specimen, p. 187.) the best interpreters are content with the simple sense of the Koran ; (Al Beidawi, apud Holtinger, Hist. Orient. l. ii. p. 302.) and the silence of Abulfeda is worthy of a prince and a philosopher.

* Abulpharagius, in Specimen. Hist. Arab. p. 17. ; And his scepticism is justified in the notes of Pocock, p. 190—194. from the purest authorities.

C H A P. encouraged to hope, that prayer will cārry him half

L. way to God, fasting will bring him to the door of
 { his palace, and alms will gain him admittance *.

I. According to the tradition of the nocturnal journey, the apostle, in his personal conference with the Deity, was commanded to impose on his disciples the daily obligation of fifty prayers. By the advice of Moses, he applied for an alleviation of this intolerable burthen ; the number was gradually reduced to five ; without any dispensation of business or pleasure, or time or place : The devotion of the faithful is repeated at day-break, at noon, in the afternoon, in the evening, and at the first watch of the night ; and, in the present decay of religious fervour, our travellers are edified by the profound humility and attention of the Turks and Persians. Cleanliness is the key of prayer : The frequent lustration of the hands, the face, and the body, which was practised of old by the Arabs, is solemnly enjoined by the Koran ; and a permission is formally granted to supply with sand the scarcity of water. The words and attitudes of supplication, as it is performed either sitting, or standing, or prostrate on the

* The most authentic account of these precepts, pilgrimage, prayer, fasting, alms, and ablutions, is extracted from the Persian and Arabian theologians by Maracci ; (*Prodrom. part iv. p. 9—24.*) Reland ; (in his excellent treatise de *Religione Mohammedicâ*, Utrecht, 1717, p. 67—123.) and Chardin. (*Voyages en Perse*, tom. iv. p. 47—195.) Maracci is a partial accuser ; but the jeweller, Chardin, had the eyes of a philosopher ; and Reland, a judicious student, had travelled over the East in his closet at Utrecht. The xivth letter of Tournefort (*Voyage du Levant*, tom. ii. p. 325—360. in octavo) describes what he had seen of the religion of the Turks.

the ground, are prescribed by custom or authority, CHAP.
 but the prayer is poured forth in short and fervent L.
 ejaculations; the measure of zeal is not exhausted
 by a tedious liturgy; and each Mussulman, for his
 own person, is invested with the character of a
 priest. Among the Theists, who reject the use of
 images, it has been found necessary to restrain
 the wanderings of the fancy, by directing the eye
 and the thought towards a *kebla*, or visible point
 of the horizon. The prophet was at first in-
 clined to gratify the Jews by the choice of Je-
 rusalem; but he soon returned to a more natural
 partiality; and five times every day the eyes of
 the nations at Astracan, at Fez, at Delhi, are de-
 voutly turned to the holy temple of Mecca. Yet
 every spot for the service of God is equally pure;
 the Mahometans indifferently pray in their cham-
 ber or in the street. As a distinction from the Jews
 and Christians, the Friday in each week is set
 apart for the useful institution of public worship;
 the people is assembled in the mosch and the
 imam; some respectable elder ascends the pulpit,
 to begin the prayer and pronounce the sermon.
 But the Mahometan religion is destitute of priest-
 hood or sacrifice; and the independent spirit of
 fanaticism looks down with contempt on the mi-
 nisters and the slaves of superstition. II. The
 voluntary * penance of the ascetics, the torment
T 2
and

* Mahomet (Sale's Koran, c. 9. p. 153.) reproaches the Christians with taking their priests and monks for their lords, besides God. Yet Maracci (Prodromus, part iii. p. 69, 70.) excuses the worship, especially of the pope, and quotes, from the Koran itself, the case of Eblis, or Satan, who was cast from heaven for refusing to adore Adam.

C H A P. and glory of their lives, was odious to a prophet
 L. who censured in his companions a rash vow of abstaining from flesh, and women, and sleep; and firmly declared, that he would suffer no monks in his religion *. Yet he instituted, in each year, a fast of thirty days; and strenuously recommended the observance, as a discipline which purifies the soul and subdues the body, as a salutary exercise of obedience to the will of God and his apostle. During the month of Ramadan, from the rising to the setting of the sun, the Mussulman abstains from eating, and drinking, and women, and baths, and perfumes; from all nourishment that can restore his strength, from all pleasure that can gratify his senses. In the revolution of the lunar year, the Ramadan coincides by turns with the winter cold and the summer heat; and the patient martyr, without assuaging his thirst with a drop of water, must expect the close of a tedious and sultry day. The interdiction of wine, peculiar to some orders of priests or hermits, is converted by Mahomet alone into a positive and general law †; and a considerable portion of the globe has abjured, at his command, the use of that salutary, though dangerous liquor. These painful restraints are, doubtless, infringed

* Koran, c. 5. p. 94. and Sale's note, which refers to the authority of Jallaloddin and Al Beidawi. D'Herbelot declares, that Mahomet condemned *la vie religieuse*; and that the first swarms of fakirs, dervises, &c. did not appear till after the year 300 of the Hegira, (Bibliot. Orient. p. 292. 718.)

† See the double prohibition, (Koran, c. 2. p. 25. c. 5. p. 94.) the one in the stile of a legislator, the other in that of a fanatic. The public and private motives of Mahomet are investigated by Prideaux, (Life of Mahomet, p. 62—64.) and Sale, (Preliminary Discourse, p. 124.)

infringed by the libertine and eluded by the hypocrite; but the legislator, by whom they are enacted, cannot surely be accused of alluring his proselytes by the indulgence of their sensual appetites. III. The charity of the Mahometans descends to the animal creation; and the Koran repeatedly inculcates, not as a merit, but as a strict and indispensable duty, the relief of the indigent and unfortunate. Mahomet, perhaps, is the only lawgiver who has defined the precise measure of charity: The standard may vary with the degree and nature of property, as it consists either in money, in corn or cattle, in fruits or merchandise; but the Mussulman does not accomplish the law, unless he bestows a *tenth* of his revenue; and if his conscience accuses him of fraud or extortion, the tenth, under the idea of restitution, is enlarged to a *fifth* *. Benevolence is the foundation of justice, since we are forbid to injure those whom we are bound to assist. A prophet may reveal the secrets of heaven and of futurity; but in his moral precepts he can only repeat the lessons of our own hearts.

The two articles of belief, and the four practical duties of Islam, are guarded by rewards and punishments; and the faith of the Mussulman is

Resurrection.

T 3

devoutly

* The jealousy of Maracci (Prodromus, part iv. p. 33.) prompts him to enumerate the more liberal alms of the Catholics of Rome. Fifteen great hospitals are open to many thousand patients and pilgrims, fifteen hundred maidens are annually portioned, fifty-six charity schools are founded for both sexes, one hundred and twenty confraternities relieve the wants of their brethren, &c. The benevolence of London is still more extensive; but I am afraid that much more is to be ascribed to the humanity, than to the religion of the people.

C H A P. devoutly fixed on the event of the judgment and
 L. the last day. The prophet has not presumed to
 determine the moment of that awful catastrophe, though he darkly announces the signs, both in heaven and earth, which will precede the universal dissolution, when life shall be destroyed, and the order of creation shall be confounded in the primitive chaos. At the blast of the trumpet, new worlds will start into being; angels, genii, and men, will arise from the dead, and the human soul will again be united to the body. The doctrine of the resurrection was first entertained by the Egyptians*; and their mummies were embalmed, their pyramids were constructed, to preserve the ancient mansion of the soul, during a period of three thousand years. But the attempt is partial and unavailing; and it is with a more philosophic spirit that Mahomet relies on the omnipotence of the Creator, whose word can re-animate the breathless clay, and collect the innumerable atoms, that no longer retain their form or substance†. The intermediate state of the soul it is hard to decide; and those who most firmly believe her immaterial nature, are at a loss to understand how she can think or act without the agency of the organs of sense.

The

* See Herodotus, (l. ii. c. 123.) and our learned countryman Sir John Marsham, (Canon. Chronicus, p. 46.) The *Ades* of the same writer (p. 254—274.) is an elaborate sketch of the infernal regions, as they were painted by the fancy of the Egyptians and Greeks, of the poets and philosophers of antiquity.

† The Koran (c. 2. p. 259, &c.; of Sale, p. 32.; of Maracci, p. 97.) relates an ingenious miracle, which satisfied the curiosity, and confirmed the faith, of Abraham.

C H A P.

L.

Hell and
Paradise.


The re-union of the soul and body will be followed by the final judgment of mankind ; and, in his copy of the Magian picture, the prophet has too faithfully represented the forms of proceeding, and even the slow and successive operations of an earthly tribunal. By his intolerate adversaries he is upbraided for extending, even to themselves, the hope of salvation, for asserting the blackest heresy, that every man who believes in God, and accomplishes good works, may expect in the last day a favourable sentence. Such rational indifference is ill adapted to the character of a fanatic ; nor is it probable that a messenger from heaven should depreciate the value and necessity of his own revelation. In the idiom of the Koran *, the belief of God is inseparable from that of Mahomet : The good works are those which he has enjoined ; and the two qualifications imply the profession of Islam, to which all nations and all sects are equally invited. Their spiritual blindness, though excused by ignorance and crowned with virtue, will be scourged with everlasting torments ; and the tears which Mahomet shed over the tomb of his mother, for whom he was forbidden to pray, display a striking contrast of humanity and enthusiasm †. The doom of the in-

T 4

fidels

* The candid Reland has demonstrated, that Mahomet damns all unbelievers ; (de Religion. Moham. p. 128—142.) that devils will not be finally saved ; (p. 196—199.) that paradise will not *solely* consist of corporeal delights ; (p. 199—205.) and that women's souls are immortal ; (p. 205—209.)

† Al Beidawi, apud Sale, Koran, c. 9. p. 164. The refusal to pray for an unbelieving kindred is justified, according to Mahomet, by the duty of a prophet, and the example of Abraham, who reprobated his own father as an enemy of God. Yet Abraham, (he adds, c. 9. v. 116. Maracci, tom. ii. p. 317.) fuit sane pius, mitis.

C H A P. L.  fids is common : The measure of their guilt and punishment is determined by the degree of evidence which they have rejected, by the magnitude of the errors which they have entertained : The eternal mansions of the Christians, the Jews, the Sabians, the Magians, and the idolaters, are sunk below each other in the abyss ; and the lowest hell is reserved for the faithless hypocrites who have assumed the mask of religion. After the greater part of mankind has been condemned for their opinions, the true believers only will be judged by their actions. The good and evil of each Mussulman will be accurately weighed in a real or allegorical balance, and a singular mode of compensation will be allowed for the payment of injuries : The aggressor will refund an equivalent of his own good actions, for the benefit of the person whom he has wronged ; and if he should be destitute of any moral property, the weight of his sins will be loaded with an adequate share of the demerits of the sufferer. According as the shares of guilt or virtue shall preponderate, the sentence will be pronounced, and all, without distinction, will pass over the sharp and perilous bridge of the abyss ; but the innocent, treading in the footsteps of Mahomet, will gloriously enter the gates of paradise, while the guilty will fall into the first and mildest of the seven hells. The term of expiation will vary from nine hundred to seven thousand years ; but the prophet has judiciously promised, that *all* his disciples, whatever may be their sins, shall be saved, by their own faith and his intercession, from eternal damnation. It is not surprising that superstition should act most powerfully on

on the fears of her votaries, since the human fancy can paint with more energy the misery than the bliss of a future life. With the two simple elements of darkness and fire we create a sensation of pain, which may be aggravated to an infinite degree by the idea of endless duration. But the same idea operates with an opposite effect on the continuity of pleasure ; and too much of our present enjoyments is obtained from the relief or the comparison of evil. It is natural enough that an Arabian prophet should dwell with rapture on the groves, the fountains, and the rivers, of paradise; but instead of inspiring the blessed inhabitants with a liberal taste for harmony and science, conversation and friendship, he idly celebrates the pearls and diamonds, the robes of silk, palaces of marble, dishes of gold, rich wines, artificial dainties, numerous attendants, and the whole train of sensual and costly luxury, which becomes insipid to the owner, even in the short period of this mortal life. Seventy-two *Houris*, or black-eyed girls of resplendent beauty, blooming youth, virgin purity, and exquisite sensibility, will be created for the use of the meanest believer ; a moment of pleasure will be prolonged to a thousand years, and his faculties will be increased an hundred fold, to render him worthy of his felicity. Notwithstanding a vulgar prejudice, the gates of heaven will be open to both sexes ; but Mahomet has not specified the male companions of the female elect, lest he should either alarm the jealousy of their former husbands, or disturb their felicity of the suspicion of an everlasting marriage. This image of a carnal paradise has provoked the indignation, perhaps

C H A P.

L.

C H A P. perhaps the envy, of the monks: They declaim
 L. against the impure religion of Mahomet; and his
 modest apologists are driven to the poor excuse of
 figures and allegories. But the sounder and more
 consistent party adhere, without shame, to the li-
 teral interpretation of the Koran; useless would be
 the resurrection of the body, unless it were re-
 stored to the possession and exercise of its worthiest
 faculties; and the union of sensual and intellectual
 enjoyment is requisite to complete the happiness
 of the double animal, the perfect man. Yet the
 joys of the Mahometan paradise will not be con-
 fined to the indulgence of luxury and appetite;
 and the prophet has expressly declared, that all
 meaner happiness will be forgotten and despised
 by the saints and martyrs, who shall be admitted
 to the beatitude of the divine vision*.

Mahomet
 preaches
 at Mecca,
 A.D. 609.

The first and most arduous conquests of Ma-
 homet† were those of his wife, his servant, his
 pupil,

* For the day of judgment, hell, paradise, &c. consult the Koran; (c. 2. v. 25. c. 56, 78. &c.) with Maracci's virulent, but learned, refutation; (in his notes, and in the Prodrômus, part iv. p. 78. 120. 122, &c.) d'Herbelot; (Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 368. 375.) Reland; (p. 47—61.) and Sale; (p. 76—103.) The original ideas of the Magi are darkly and doubtfully explored by their apologist. Dr Ayda (Hist. Religionis Persarum, c. 33. p. 402.—412, Oxon. 1760.) In the article of Mahomet, Bayle has shewn how indifferently wit and philosophy supply the absence of genuine information.

† Before I enter on the history of the prophet, it is incumbent on me to produce my evidence. The Latin, French, and English versions of the Koran, are preceded by historical discourses, and the three translators, Maracci, (tom. i. p. 10—32.) Savary, (tom. i. p. 1—248.) and Sale, (Preliminary Discourse, p. 33—56) had accurately studied the language and character of their author. Two professed lives of Mahomet have been composed by Dr Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, seventh edition, London, 1710, in octavo) and the count de Boulainvilliers, (Vie de

pupil, and his friend * ; since he presented him- C H A P. L.
 self as a prophet to those who were most con-
 versant with his infirmities as a man. Yet Cadijah
 believed the words, and cherished the glory, of
 her husband ; the obsequious and affectionate Zeid
 was tempted by the prospect of freedom ; the il-
 lustrious Ali, the son of Abu Taleb, embraced
 the sentiments of his cousin with the spirit of a
 youthful hero ; and the wealth, the moderation,
 the veracity of Abubeker, confirmed the religion
 of the prophet whom he was destined to succeed.
 By his persuasion, ten of the most respectable ci-
 tizens of Mecca were introduced to the private
 lessons of Islam ; they yielded to the voice of
 reason

de Mahommed, Londres, 1730, in octavo,) but the adverse wish
 of finding an impostor or an hero, has too often corrupted the
 learning of the doctor and the ingenuity of the count. The
 article in d'Herbelot, (Bibliot. Orient. p. 598—603.) is chiefly
 drawn from Novairi and Mircond ; but the best and most au-
 thentic of our guides is M. Gagnier, a Frenchman by birth, and
 professor at Oxford of the Oriental tongues. In two elaborate
 works, (Ismael Abulfeda de Vita et Rebus gestis Mohammedis,
 &c. Latine vertit, Præfatione et Notis illustravit Johannes
 Gagnier, Oxon. 1723, in folio. La Vie de Mahomet traduite
 et compilée de l'Alcoran, des Traditions authentiques de la
 Sonna et des meilleurs Auteurs Arabes ; Amsterdam, 1748,
 3 vols. in 12mo,) he has interpreted, illustrated, and supplied the
 Arabic text of Abulfeda and Al Jannabi ; the first, an enlight-
 ened prince, who reigned at Hamah, in Syria, A. D. 1310—
 1332. (see Gagnier Præfat. ad Abulfed.) the second, a credu-
 lous doctor, who visited Mecca A. D. 1556. (d'Herbelot, p.
 397. Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 209, 210.) These are my general
 vouchers, and the inquisitive reader may follow the order of
 time, and the division of chapters. Yet I must observe, that
 both Abulfeda and Al Jannabi are modern historians, and that
 they cannot appeal to any writers of the first century of the
 Hegira.

* After the Greeks, Prideaux (p. 8.) discloses the secret
 doubts of the wife of Mahomet. As if he had been a privy
 counsellor of the prophet, Boulainvilliers (p. 272, &c.) unfolds
 the sublime and patriotic views of Cadijah and the first disciples.

CHAP. reason and enthusiasm; they repeated the fundamental creed; "there is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God;" and their faith, even in this life, was rewarded with riches and honours, with the command of armies, and the government of kingdoms. Three years were silently employed in the conversion of fourteen proselytes, the first fruits of his mission; but in the fourth year he assumed the prophetic office, and resolving to impart to his family the light of divine truth, he prepared a banquet, a lamb, as it is said, and a bowl of milk, for the entertainment of forty guests of the race of Hashem. "Friends and kinsmen," said Mahomet to the assembly, "I offer you, and I alone can offer, the most precious of gifts, the treasures of this world and of the world to come. God has commanded me to call you to his service. Who among you will support my burthen? Who among you will be my companion and my vizir *?" No answer was returned, till the silence of astonishment, and doubt, and contempt, was at length broken by the impatient courage of Ali, a youth in the fourteenth year of his age. "O prophet, I am the man; whosoever rises against thee, I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, rip up his belly. O prophet, I will be thy vizir over them." Mahomet accepted his offer with transport, and Abu Taleb was ironically

* *Vezirus, portitor, bajulus, onus ferens*; and this plebeian name was transferred by an apt metaphor to the pillars of the state, (Gagnac., Not. ad Abulfed. p. 19.) I endeavour to preserve the Arabian idiom, as far as I can feel it myself, in a Latin or French translation.

nically exhorted to respect the superior dignity of his son. In a more serious tone, the father of Ali advised his nephew to relinquish his impracticable design. "Spare your remonstrances," replied the intrepid fanatic to his uncle and benefactor; "if they should place the sun on my right-hand, and the moon on my left, they should not divert me from my course." He persevered ten years in the exercise of his mission; and the religion which has overspread the East and the West, advanced with a slow and painful progress within the walls of Mecca. Yet Mahomet enjoyed the satisfaction of beholding the encrease of his infant congregation of Unitarians, who revered him as a prophet, and to whom he seasonably dispensed the spiritual nourishment of the Koran. The number of proselytes may be esteemed by the absence of eighty-three men and eighteen women, who retired to Æthiopia in the seventh year of his mission: And his party was fortified by the timely conversion of his uncle Hamza, and of the fierce and inflexible Omar, who signalized in the cause of Islam the same zeal which he had exerted for its destruction. Nor was the charity of Mahomet confined to the tribe of Koreish or the precincts of Mecca: On solemn festivals, in the days of pilgrimage, he frequented the Caaba, accosted the strangers of every tribe, and urged, both in private converse and public discourse, the belief and worship of a sole Diety. Conscious of his reason and of his weakness, he asserted the liberty of conscience, and disclaimed

C H A P.
L.


C H A P. claimed the use of religious violence * ; but he
 L. called the Arabs to repentance, and conjured
 them to remember the ancient idolaters of Ad and
 Thamud, whom the divine justice had swept away
 from the face of the earth †.

Is opposed
 by the
 Koreish,
 A. D.
 613—622.

The people of Mecca was hardened in their un-
 belief by superstition and envy. The elders of
 the city, the uncles of the prophet, affected to
 despise the presumption of an orphan, the re-
 former of his country : The pious orations of Ma-
 homet in the Caaba were answered by the cla-
 mours of Abu Taleh. " Citizens and pilgrims,
 " listen not to the tempter, hearken not to his im-
 " pious novelties. Stand fast in the worship of
 " Al Lâta and Al Uzzah." Yet the son of Ab-
 dallah was ever dear to the aged chief; and he
 protected the fame and person of his nephew
 against the assaults of the Koreishites, who had
 long been jealous of the pre-eminence of the fa-
 mily of Hashem. Their malice was coloured with
 the pretence of religion; in the age of Job, the
 crime of impiety was punished by the Arabian
 magistrate ;

* The passages of the Koran in behalf of toleration are
 strong and numerous ; c. 2. v. 257. c. 16. 129. c. 17. 54. c.
 45. 15. c. 50. 39. c. 88. 21, &c. with the notes of Maracci
 and Sale. This character alone may generally decide the
 doubts of the learned, whether a chapter was revealed at Mecca
 or Medina.

† See the Koran, (passim, and especially c. 7. p. 123, 124,
 &c.) and the tradition of the Arabs, (Pocock, Specimen, p. 35
 —37.) The caverns of the tribe of Thamud, fit for men of the
 ordinary stature, were shewn in the midway between Medina
 and Damascus, (Abulfed. Arabiæ Descript. p. 43, 44.) and may
 be probably ascribed to the Troglodites of the primitive world,
 (Michaelis, ad Lowth de Poesi Hebræor. p. 131—134. Re-
 cherches sur les Egyptiens, tom. ii. p. 48, &c.)

magistrate * ; and Mahomet was guilty of de-
serting and denying the national deities. But so
loose was the policy of Mecca, that the leaders of
the Koreish, instead of accusing a criminal, were
compelled to employ the measures of persuasion or
violence. They repeatedly addressed Abu Taleb
in the stile of reproach and menace. “ Thy ne-
“ phew reviles our religion ; he accuses our wise
“ forefathers of ignorance and folly ; silence him
“ quickly, lest he kindle tumult and discord in
“ the city. If he persevere, we shall draw our
“ swords against him and his adherents, and thou
“ wilt be responsible for the blood of thy fellow-
“ citizens.” The weight and moderation of Abu
Taleb eluded the violence of religious faction ;
the most helpless or timid of the disciples retired
to Æthiopia, and the prophet withdrew himself to
various places of strength in the town and country.
As he was still supported by his family, the rest
of the tribe of Koreish engaged themselves to re-
nounce all intercourse with the children of Ha-
shem, neither to buy nor sell, neither to marry
nor to give in marriage, but to pursue them with
implacable enmity, till they should deliver the
person of Mahomet to the justice of the gods.
The decree was suspended in the Caaba before the
eyes of the nation ; the messengers of the Koreish
pursued the Mussulman exiles in the heart of
Africa :

* In the time of Job, the crime of impiety was punished by the Arabian magistrate ; (c. 13. v. 26, 27, 28.) I blush for a respectable prelate, (de Poesi Hebræorum, p. 650, 651. edit. Michaelis ; and letter of a late professor in the university of Oxford, p. 15—53.) who justifies and applauds this patriarchal inquisition.

CHAP. Africa : They besieged the prophet and his most faithful followers, intercepted their water, and inflamed their mutual animosity, by the retaliation of injuries and insults. A doubtful truce restored the appearances of concord ; till the death of Abu Taleb abandoned Mahomet to the power of his enemies, at the moment when he was deprived of his domestic comforts, by the loss of his faithful and generous Cadijah. Abu Sophian, the chief of the branch of Ommiyah, succeeded to the principality of the republic of Mecca. A zealous votary of the idols, a mortal foe of the line of Hashem, he convened an assembly of the Koreishites and their allies, to decide the fate of the apostle. His imprisonment might provoke the despair of his enthusiasm ; and the exile of an eloquent and popular fanatic would diffuse the mischief through the provinces of Arabia. His death was resolved ; and they agreed, that a sword from each tribe should be buried in his heart, to divide the guilt of his blood, and baffle the vengeance of the Hashemites. An angel or a spy revealed their conspiracy ; and flight was the only resource of Mahomet *. At the dead of night, accompanied by his friend Abubeker, he silently escaped from his house : The assassins watched at the door ; but they were deceived by the figure of Ali, who reposed on the bed, and was covered with the green vestment of the apostle. The Koreish respected the piety of the heroic youth ; but some verses of Ali, which are still extant, exhibit an interesting picture

and driven from Mecca,
A. D. 662.

* D'Herbelot. *Bibliot. Orient.* p. 445. He quotes a particular history of the flight of Mahomet.

picture of his anxiety, his tenderness, and his religious confidence. Three days Mahomet and his companion were concealed in the cave of Thor, at the distance of a league from Mecca ; and in the close of each evening, they received from the son and daughter of Abubeker a secret supply of intelligence and food. The diligence of the Koreish explored every haunt in the neighbourhood of the city, they arrived at the entrance of the cavern ; but the providential deceit of a spider's web and a pigeon's nest, is supposed to convince them that the place was solitary and inviolate. " We are only two," said the trembling Abubeker. " There is a third," replied the prophet ; " it is God himself." No sooner was the pursuit abated, than the two fugitives issued from the rock, and mounted their camels : On the road to Medina, they were overtaken by the emissaries of the Koreish ; they redeemed themselves with prayers and promises from their hands. In this eventful moment, the lance of an Arab might have changed the history of the world. The flight of the prophet from Mecca to Medina has fixed the memorable æra of the *Hegira* *,

VOL. IX. U which,

* The *Hegira* was instituted by Omar, the second caliph, in imitation of the æra of the martyrs of the Christians ; (d'Herbelot, p. 444.) and properly commenced sixty-eight days before the flight of Mahomet, with the first of Moharren, or first day of that Arabian year, which coincides with Friday, July 16th, A. D. 622 ; (Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. c. 22, 23. p. 45—50. and Greaves's edition of Ullug Beig's Epochæ Arabum, &c. c. 1. p. 8. 10, &c.)

C H A P. which, at the end of twelve centuries, still dis-
 L. criminate the lunar years of the Mahometan na-
 tions *.

Received
 as prince
 of Medi-
 na,
 A. D. 622.

The religion of the Koran might have perished in its cradle, had not Medina embraced with faith and reverence the holy outcasts of Mecca. Medina, or the *city*, known under the name of Yathreb, before it was sanctified by the throne of the prophet, was divided between the tribes of the Charegites and the Awsites, whose hereditary feud was rekindled by the slightest provocations: Two colonies of Jews, who boasted a sacerdotal race, were their humble allies, and without converting the Arabs, they introduced the taste of science and religion, which distinguished Medina as the city of the book. Some of her noblest citizens, in a pilgrimage to the Caaba, were converted by the preaching of Mahomet; on their return, they diffused the belief of God and his prophet, and the new alliance was ratified by their deputies in two secret and nocturnal interviews on a hill in the suburbs of Mecca. In the first, ten Charegites and two Awsites united in faith and love, protested in the name of their wives, their children, and their absent brethren, that they would for ever profess the creed, and observe the precepts, of the Koran. The second was a political association, the first vital spark of the empire of

* Mahomet's life, from his mission to the Hegira, may be found in Abulfeda, (p. 14—45.) and Gagnier, (tom. i. p. 134—251. 342—383.) The legend from p. 187—234. is vouched by Al Jannabi, and disdained by Abulfeda.

C H A P.

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of the Saracens *. Seventy-three men and two women of Medina held a solemn conference with Mahomet, his kinsmen, and his disciples; and pledged themselves to each other by a mutual oath of fidelity. They promised in the name of the city, that if he should be banished, they would receive him as a confederate, obey him as a leader, and defend him to the last extremity, like their wives and children. "But if you are recalled by your country," they asked with a flattering anxiety, "will you not abandon your new allies?" "All things," replied Mahomet with a smile, "are now common between us; your blood is as my blood, your ruin as my ruin. We are bound to each other by the ties of honour and interest. I am your friend, and the enemy of your foes." "But if we are killed in your service, what," exclaimed the deputies of Medina, "will be our reward?" "PARADISE," replied the prophet, "Stretch forth thy hand." He stretched it forth, and they reiterated the oath of allegiance and fidelity. Their treaty was ratified by the people, who unanimously embraced the profession of Islam; they rejoiced in the exile of the apostle, but they trembled for his safety, and impatiently expected his arrival. After a perilous and rapid journey along the sea-coast, he halted at Koba, two miles from the city, and made his public entry into Medina, sixteen days after

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his

* The triple inauguration of Mahomet is described by Abulfeda (p. 30. 33. 40. 86.) and Gagnier, (tom. i. p. 342, &c. 349, &c. tom. ii. p. 223, &c.)

C H A P. his flight from Mecca. Five hundred of the citizens advanced to meet him; he was hailed with acclamations of loyalty and devotion; Mahomet was mounted on a she-camel, an umbrella shaded his head, and a turban was unfurled before him to supply the deficiency of a standard. His bravest disciples, who had been scattered by the storm, assembled round his person; and the equal, though various, merit of the Moslems was distinguished by the names of *Mobagerians* and *Ansars*, the fugitives of Mecca, and the auxiliaries of Medina. To eradicate the seeds of jealousy, Mahomet judiciously coupled his principal followers with the rights and obligations of brethren, and when Ali found himself without a peer, the prophet tenderly declared, that *he* would be the companion and brother of the noble youth. The expedient was crowned with success; the holy fraternity was respected in peace and war, and the two parties vied with each other in a generous emulation of courage and fidelity. Once only the concord was slightly ruffled by an accidental quarrel; a patriot of Medina arraigned the insolence of the strangers, but the hint of their expulsion was heard with abhorrence, and his own son most eagerly offered to lay at the apostle's feet the head of his father.

His regal
dignity,
A. D.
622—632.

From his establishment at Medina, Mahomet assumed the exercise of the regal and sacerdotal office; and it was impious to appeal from a judge whose decrees were inspired by the divine wisdom. A small portion of ground, the patrimony of two orphans,

orphans, was acquired by gift or purchase *; on that chosen spot, he built an house and a mosch, more venerable in their rude simplicity than the palaces and temples of the Assyrian caliphs. His seal of gold, or silver, was inscribed with the apostolic title; when he prayed and preached in the weekly assembly, he leaned against the trunk of a palm-tree; and it was long before he indulged himself in the use of a chair or pulpit of rough timber †. After a reign of six years, fifteen hundred Moslems, in arms and in the field, renewed their oath of allegiance; and their chief repeated the assurance of protection till the death of the last member, or the final dissolution of the party. It was in the same camp that the deputy of Mecca was astonished by the attention of the faithful to the words and looks of the prophet, by the eagerness with which they collected his spittle, an hair that dropped on the ground, the refuse water of his lustrations, as if they participated in some degree of the prophetic virtue. “ I have

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“ seen,”

* Prideaux (*Life of Mohamet*, p. 44.) reviles the wickedness of the impostor, who despoiled two poor orphans, the sons of a carpenter; a reproach which he drew from the *Disputatio contra Saracenos*, composed in Arabic before the year 1130; but the honest Gagnier (*ad Abulfed.* p. 53.) has shewn that they were deceived by the word *Al Nagjar*, which signifies, in this place, not an obscure trade, but a noble tribe of Arabs. The desolate state of the ground is described by Abulfeda; and his worthy interpreter has proved from Al Bochari, the offer of a price; from Al Jannabi, the fair purchase; and from Ahmed Ben Joseph, the payment of the money by the generous Abubeker. On these grounds the prophet must be honourably acquitted.

† Al Jannabi (*apud Gagnier*, tom. ii. p. 246. 324.) describes the seal and pulpit, as two venerable relics of the apostle of God; and the portrait of his court is taken from Abulfeda, (c. 44. p. 85.)

CHAP. "seen," said he, " the Chosroes of Persia and
 L. " the Cæsar of Rome, but never did I behold a
 { " king among his subjects like Mahomet among
 " his companions." The devout fervour of en-
 thusiasm acts with more energy and truth than
 the cold and formal servility of courts.

He de-
 clares war
 against
 the infi-
 dels.

In the state of nature every man has a right to defend, by force of arms, his person and his possessions; to repel, or even to prevent, the violence of his enemies, and to extend his hostilities to a reasonable measure of satisfaction and retaliation. In the free society of the Arabs, the duties of subject and citizen imposed a feeble restraint; and Mahomet, in the exercise of a peaceful and benevolent mission, had been despoiled and banished by the injustice of his countrymen. The choice of an independent people had exalted the fugitive of Mecca to the rank of a sovereign; and he was invested with the just prerogative of forming alliances, and of waging offensive or defensive war. The imperfection of human rights was supplied and armed by the plenitude of divine power: The prophet of Medina assumed, in his new revelations, a fiercer and more sanguinary tone, which proves that his former moderation was the effect of weakness*: The means of persuasion had been tried, the season of forbearance was elapsed, and he was now commanded to propagate his religion by the sword, to destroy the monuments of idolatry,

* The eighth and ninth chapters of the Koran are the loudest and most vehement; and Maracci (Prodromus, part iv. p. 59 —64.) has inveighed with more justice than discretion against the double dealing of the impostor.

latry, and, without regarding the sanctity of days or months, to pursue the unbelieving nations of the earth. The same bloody precepts, so repeatedly inculcated in the Koran, are ascribed by the author to the Pentateuch and the Gospel. But the mild tenor of the evangelic stile may explain an ambiguous text, that Jesus did not bring peace on the earth, but a sword : His patient and humble virtues should not be confounded with the intolerant zeal of princes and bishops, who have disgraced the name of his disciples. In the prosecution of religious war, Mahomet might appeal with more propriety to the example of Moses, of the judges, and the kings of Israel. The military laws of the Hebrews are still more rigid than those of the Arabian legislator *. The Lord of Hosts marched in person before the Jews : If a city resisted their summons, the males, without distinction, were put to the sword ; the seven nations of Canaan were devoted to destruction ; and neither repentance nor conversion could shield them from the inevitable doom, that no creature within their precincts should be left alive. The fair option of friendship, or submission, or battle, was proposed to the enemies of Mahomet. If they professed the creed of Islam, they were admitted to all the temporal and spiritual benefits of his primitive disciples, and marched under the same banner to

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extend


* The tenth and twentieth chapters of Deuteronomy, with the practical comments of Joshua, David, &c. are read with more awe than satisfaction by the pious Christians of the present age. But the bishops, as well as the rabbis of former times, have beat the drum-ecclesiastic with pleasure and success. (Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 142, 143.)

CHAP. extend the religion which they had embraced.

L. The clemency of the prophet was decided by his interest, yet he seldom trampled on a prostrate enemy; and he seems to promise, that, on the payment of a tribute, the least guilty of his unbelieving subjects might be indulged in their worship, or at least in their imperfect faith. In the first months of his reign, he practised the lessons of holy warfare, and displayed his white banner before the gates of Medina: The martial apostle fought in person at nine battles or sieges*; and fifty enterprises of war were atchieved in ten years by himself or his lieutenants. The Arab continued to unite the professions of a merchant and a robber; and his petty excursions, for the defence or the attack of a caravan, insensibly prepared his troops for the conquest of Arabia. The distribution of the spoil was regulated by a divine law†; the whole was faithfully collected in one common mass; a fifth of the gold and silver, the prisoners and cattle, the moveables and immoveables, was reserved by the prophet for pious and charitable uses; the remainder was shared in adequate portions, by the soldiers who had obtained the

* Abulfeda, in Vit. Moham. p. 156. The private arsenal of the apostle consisted of nine swords, three lances, seven pikes or half-pikes, a quiver and three bows, seven cuirasses, three shields, and two helmets. (Gagnier. tom. iii. p. 328—334.) with a large white standard, a black banner, (p. 335.) twenty horses, (p. 322.) &c. Two of his martial sayings are recorded by tradition, (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 88. 337.)

† The whole subject de jure belli Mohammedanorum, is exhausted in a separate dissertation by the learned Reland. (Dissertationes Miscellanæ, tom. iii. Dissert. x. p. 3—53.)

the victory or guarded the camp : The rewards of C H A P.
the slain devolved to their widows and orphans ; L.
and the increase of cavalry was encouraged by 
the allotment of a double share to the horse and
to the man. From all sides the roving Arabs
were allured to the standard of religion and plunder : The apostle sanctified the licence of embracing the female captives as their wives or concubines ; and the enjoyment of wealth and beauty was a feeble type of the joys of paradise prepared for the valiant martyrs of the faith. “ The
“ sword,” says Mahomet, “ is the key of heaven
“ and of hell : A drop of blood shed in the cause
“ of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail
“ than two months of fasting or prayer :
“ Whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven ;
“ at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion, and odoriferous as musk ;
“ and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by
“ the wings of angels and cherubim.” The intrepid souls of the Arabs were fired with enthusiasm ; the picture of the invisible world was strongly painted on their imagination ; and the death which they had always despised became an object of hope and desire. The Koran inculcates, in the most absolute sense, the tenets of fate and predestination, which would extinguish both industry and virtue, if the actions of man were governed by his speculative belief. Yet their influence in every age has exalted the courage of the Saracens and Turks. The first companions of Mahomet advanced to battle with a fearless confidence ; there is no danger where there is no chance : They were ordained to perish in their
beds ;

C H A P. beds ; or they were safe and invulnerable amidst
 L. the darts of the enemy *.

His defen-
 sive wars
 against
 the Kore-
 ish of
 Mecca.

Perhaps the Koreish would have been content with the flight of Mahomet, had they not been provoked and alarmed by the vengeance of an enemy, who could intercept their Syrian trade as it passed and repassed through the territory of Medina. Abu Sophian himself, with only thirty or forty followers, conducted a wealthy caravan of a thousand camels; the fortune or dexterity of his march escaped the vigilance of Mahomet ; but the chief of the Koreish was informed that the holy robbers were placed in ambush to wait his return. He dispatched a messenger to his brethren of Mecca, and they were roused, by the fear of losing their merchandise and their provisions, unless they hastened to his relief with the military force of the city. The sacred band of Mahomet was formed of three hundred and thirteen Moslems, of whom seventy-seven were fugitives, and the rest auxiliaries: They mounted by turns a train of seventy camels, (the camels of Yathreb were formidable in war ;) but such was the poverty of his first disciples, that only two could appear on horseback in the field †. In the fertile and famous vale of Beder,

* The doctrine of absolute predestination, on which few religions can reproach each other, is sternly exposed in the Koran, (c. 3. p. 52, 53. c. 4. p. 70, &c. with the notes of Sale, and c. 17. p. 413. with those of Maracci.) Reland (de Relig. Mohamm. p. 61—64.) and Sale (Prelim. Discourse, p. 103.) represent the opinions of the doctors, and our modern travellers the confidence, the fading confidence, of the Turks.

† Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 9.) allows him seventy or eighty horse ; and on two other occasions prior to the battle

der*, three stations from Medina, he was informed by his scouts of the caravan that approached on one side; of the Koreish, one hundred horse, eight hundred and fifty foot, who advanced on the other. After a short debate, he sacrificed the prospect of wealth to the pursuit of glory and revenge; and a slight intrenchment was formed to cover his troops, and a stream of fresh water that glided through the valley. "O God," he exclaimed as the numbers of the Koreish descended from the hills, "O God, if these are destroyed, "by whom wilt thou be worshipped on the earth? "—Courage, my children, close your ranks; discharge your arrows, and the day is your own." At these words he placed himself, with Abubeker, on a throne or pulpit†, and instantly demanded the succour of Gabriel and three thousand angels. His eye

C H A P.
L.

Battle of
Beder.
A. D. 628.

battle of Ohud, he enlists a body of thirty, (p. 10.) and of 500 (p. 66.) troopers. Yet the Mussulmans, in the field of Ohud, had no more than two horses, according to the better sense of Abulfeda, (in Vit. Mohamm. part xxxi. p. 65.) In the *stony* province, the camels were numerous; but the horse appears to have been less common than in the *Happy* or the *Desert* Arabia.

* Beder Houneene, twenty miles from Medina, and forty from Mecca, is on the high road of the caravan of Egypt; and the pilgrims annually commemorate the prophet's victory by illuminations, rockets, &c. Shaw's Travels, p. 477.

† The place to which Mahomet retired during the action is stiled by Gagnier, (in Abulfeda, c. 27. p. 58. Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 30. 33.) *Umbraculum, une loge de bois avec une porte*. The same Arabic word is rendered by Reiske, (Annales Moslemici Abulfedæ, p. 23.) by *Solium, Suggestus editor*; and the difference is of the utmost moment for the honour both of the interpreter and of the hero. I am sorry to observe the pride and acrimony with which the Reiske chastises his fellow-labourer. Sæpe sic vertit, ut integræ paginæ nequeant nisi unâ liturâ corrigi: Arabice non satis callebat et carebat judicio critico. J. J. Reiske, Prodidagmata ad Hagji Chalitæ Tabulas, p. 228. ad calcem Abulfedæ Syriæ Tabulæ; Lipsiæ, 1766, in 4to.

C H A P. eye was fixed on the field of battle: The Mussul-
 L. mans fainted and were pressed: In that decisive
 moment the prophet started from his throne, mounted his horse, and cast a handful of sand into the air; " Let their faces be covered with " confusion." Both armies heard the thunder of his voice; their fancy beheld the angelic warriors *; the Koreish trembled and fled; seventy of the bravest were slain; and seventy captives adorned the first victory of the faithful. The dead bodies of the Koreish were despoiled and insulted; two of the most obnoxious prisoners were punished with death; and the ransom of the others, four thousand drams of silver, compensated in some degree the escape of the caravan. But it was in vain that the camels of Abu Sophian explored a new road through the desert and along the Euphrates: They were overtaken by the diligence of the Mussulmans; and wealthy must have been the prize, if twenty thousand drams could be set apart for the fifth of the apostle. The resentment of the public and private loss stimulated Abu Sophian to collect a body of three thousand men, seven hundred of whom were armed with cuirasses, and two hundred were mounted on horseback; three thousand camels attended his march; and his wife Henda,

* The loose expressions of the Koran (c. 3. p. 124, 125. c. 8. p. 9.) allow the commentators to fluctuate between the numbers of 1000, 3000, or 9000 angels; and the smallest of these might suffice for the slaughter of seventy of the Koreish, (Maracci, Alcoran, tom. ii. p. 131.) Yet the same scholiasts confess, that this angelic band was not visible to any mortal eye, (Maracci, p. 297.) They refine on the words (c. 8. 16.) " not thou, but God," &c. (d'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orientale*, p. 600, 601.)

Henda, with fifteen matrons of Mecca, incessantly sounded their timbrels to animate the troops, and to magnify the greatness of Hobal, the most popular deity of the Caaba. The standard of God and Mahomet was upheld by nine hundred and fifty believers; the disproportion of numbers was not more alarming than in the field of Beder; and their presumption of victory prevailed against the divine and human sense of the apostle. The second battle was fought on mount Ohud, six miles to the north of Medina*; the Koreish advanced in the form of a crescent; and the right wing of cavalry was led by Caled, the fiercest and most successful of the Arabian warriors. The troops of Mahomet were skilfully posted on the declivity of the hill; and their rear was guarded by a detachment of fifty archers. The weight of their charge impelled and broke the centre of the idolaters; but in the pursuit they lost the advantage of their ground; the archers deserted their station; the Mussulmans were tempted by the spoil, disobeyed their general, and disordered their ranks. The intrepid Caled, wheeling his cavalry on their flank and rear, exclaimed, with a loud voice, that Mahomet was slain. He was indeed wounded in the face with a javelin; two of his teeth were shattered with a stone; yet, in the midst of tumult and dismay, he reproached the infidels with the murder of a prophet; and blessed the friendly hand that staunched his blood, and conveyed him to a place of safety. Seventy martyrs died for the sins of the people; they fell, said the apostle,

in

C H A P.
L.
of Ohud,
A. D. 623.

* Geograph. Nubiensis, p. 47.

C H A P. in pairs, each brother embracing his lifeless companion *; their bodies were mangled by the inhuman females of Mecca; and the wife of Abu Sophian tasted the entrails of Hamza, the uncle of Mahomet. They might applaud their superstition and satiate their fury; but the Mussulmans soon rallied in the field, and the Koreish wanted strength or courage to undertake the siege of Medina. It was attacked the ensuing year by an army of ten thousand enemies; and this third expedition is variously named from the *nations*, which marched under the banner of Abu Sophian, from the *ditch* which was drawn before the city, and a camp of three thousand Mussulmans. The prudence of Mahomet declined a general engagement; the valour of Ali was signalised in single combat; and the war was protracted twenty days, till the final separation of the confederates. A tempest of wind, rain, and hail, overturned their tents; the private quarrels were fomented by an insidious adversary; and the Koreish, deserted by their allies, no longer hoped to subvert the throne, or to check the conquests, of their invincible exile†.

The nations, or the ditch, A. D. 625.

Mahomet subdues the Jews of Arabia, A. D. 623—627.

The choice of Jerusalem for the first kebla of prayer discovers the early propensity of Mahomet in favour of the Jews; and happy would it have been for their temporal interest, had they recognised,

* In the third chapter of the Koran, (p. 50—53. with Sale's notes,) the prophet alledges some poor excuses for the defeat of Ohud.

† For the detail of the three Koreish wars, of Beder, of Ohud, and of the ditch, peruse Abulfeda, (p. 56—61. 64—69. 73—77.) Gagnier, (tom. ii. p. 23—45. 70—96. 120—139.) with the proper articles of d'Herbelot, and the abridgments of Elmacin (Hist. Saracen, p. 6, 7.) and Abulpharagius, (Dynast. p. 102.)

ed, in the Arabian prophet, the hope of Israel and the promised Messiah. Their obstinacy converted his friendship into implacable hatred, with which he pursued that unfortunate people to the last moment of his life ; and in the double character of an apostle and a conqueror, his persecution was extended to both worlds *. The Kainoka dwelt at Medina, under the protection of the city : He seized the occasion of an accidental tumult, and summoned them to embrace his religion, or contend with him in battle. " Alas," replied the trembling Jews, " we are ignorant of the use of arms, but we persevere in the faith and worship of our fathers ; why wilt thou reduce us to the necessity of a just defence ?" The unequal conflict was terminated in fifteen days ; and it was with extreme reluctance that Mahomet yielded to the importunity of his allies, and consented to spare the lives of the captives. But their riches were confiscated, their arms became more effectual in the hands of the Mussulmans ; and a wretched colony of seven hundred exiles was driven with their wives and children to implore a refuge on the confines of Syria. The Nadhirites were more guilty, since they conspired in a friendly interview to assassinate the prophet. He besieged their castle three miles from Medina, but their resolute defence obtained an honourable capitulation ; and the garrison, sounding their trumpets and beating their

* The wars of Mahomet against the Jewish tribes, of Kainoka, the Nadhirites, Koraidha, and Chaibar, are related by Abulfeda, (p. 61. 71. 77. 87, &c.) and Gagnier, (tom. ii. p. 61—65. 107—112. 139—148. 268—294.)

C H A P. their drums, was permitted to depart with the honours of war. The Jews had excited and joined
 L. the war of the Koreish: No sooner had the *nations* retired from the *ditch*, than Mahomet, without laying aside his armour, marched on the same day to extirpate the hostile race of the children of Koraidha. After a resistance of twenty-five days, they surrendered at discretion. They trusted to the intercession of their old allies, of Medina; they could not be ignorant that fanaticism obliterates the feelings of humanity. A venerable elder, to whose judgment they appealed, pronounced the sentence of their death: Seven hundred Jews were dragged in chains to the market-place of the city; they descended alive into the grave prepared for their execution and burial; and the apostle beheld with an inflexible eye the slaughter of his helpless enemies. Their sheep and camels were inherited by the Mussulmans; three hundred cuirasses, five hundred pikes, a thousand lances, composed the most useful portion of the spoil. Six days journey to the north-east of Medina, the ancient and wealthy town of Chaibar was the seat of the Jewish power in Arabia; the territory; a fertile spot in the desert, was covered with plantations and cattle, and protected by eight castles, some of which were esteemed of impregnable strength. The forces of Mahomet consisted of two hundred horse and fourteen hundred foot: In the succession of eight regular and painful sieges, they were exposed to danger, and fatigue, and hunger; and the most undaunted chiefs despaired of the event. The apostle revived their faith and courage by the example of Ali, on whom

whom he bestowed the surname of the Lion of God: C H A P. L.
 Perhaps we may believe that an Hebrew champion of gigantic stature was cloven to the chest by his irresistible scymetar; but we cannot praise the modesty of romance, which represents him as tearing from its hinges the gate of a fortress, and wielding the ponderous buckler in his left hand*. After the reduction of the castles, the town of Chaibar submitted to the yoke. The chief of the tribe was tortured in the presence of Mahomet, to force a confession of his hidden treasure: The industry of the shepherds and husbandmen was rewarded with a precarious toleration: They were permitted, so long as it should please the conqueror, to improve their patrimony, in equal shares, for *his* emolument and their own. Under the reign of Omar, the Jews of Chaibar were transplanted to Syria; and the caliph alleged the injunction of his dying master, that one and the true religion should be professed in his native land of Arabia†.

Five times each day the eyes of Mahomet were turned towards Mecca ‡, and he was urged
 VOL. IX. X by A.D. 629.

* Abu Rafe, the servant of Mahomet, is said to affirm, that he himself, and seven other men, afterwards tried, without success, to move the same gate from the ground. (Abulfeda, p. 90.) Abu Rafe was an eye-witness, but who will be witness for Abu Rafe?

† The banishment of the Jews is attested by Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 9.) and the great Al Zabari. (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 285.) Yet Neibuhr (Description de l'Arabie, p. 324.) believes, that the Jewish religion, and Kareite sect, are still professed by the tribe of Chaibar; and that in the plunder of the caravans, the disciples of Moses are the confederates of those of Mahomet.

‡ The successive steps of the reduction of Mecca are related by Abulfeda (p. 84—87. 97—100. 102—111.) and Gagnier, (tom. ii. p. 209—245. 309—322. tom. iii. p. 1—58.) Elmacin, (Hist. Saracen. p. 8, 9, 10.) Abulpharagius, (Dynast. p. 103.)

C H A P. by the most sacred and powerful motives to revisit
L. as a conqueror, the city and the temple from whence
he had been driven as an exile. The Caaba was present to his waking and sleeping fancy : An idle dream was translated into vision and prophecy ; he unfurled the holy banner ; and a rash promise of success too hastily dropped from the lips of the apostle. His march from Medina to Mecca displayed the peaceful and solemn pomp of a pilgrimage : Seventy camels chosen and bedecked for sacrifice, preceded the van ; the sacred territory was respected, and the captives were dismissed without ransom, to proclaim his clemency and devotion. But no sooner did Mahomet descend into the plain, within a day's journey of the city, than he exclaimed, " they have clothed themselves with " the skins of tygers ;" the numbers and resolution of the Kôreish opposed his progress ; and the roving Arabs of the desert might desert or betray a leader whom they had followed for the hopes of spoil. The intrepid fanatic sunk into a cool and cautious politician : He waved in the treaty his title of apostle of God, concluded with the Koreish and their allies a truce of ten years, engaged to restore the fugitives of Mecca who should embrace his religion, and stipulated only, for the ensuing year, the humble privilege of entering the city as a friend, and of remaining three days to accomplish the rites of the pilgrimage. A cloud of shame and sorrow hung on the retreat of the Mussulmans, and their disappointment might justly accuse the failure of a prophet who had so often appealed to the evidence of success. The
faith

C H A P.

L.

faith and hope of the pilgrims were rekindled by the prospect of Mecca; their swords were sheathed; seven times in the footsteps of the apostle they encompassed the Caaba; the Koreish had retired to the hills, and Mahomet, after the customary sacrifice, evacuated the city on the fourth day. The people was edified by his devotion; the hostile chiefs were awed, or divided, or seduced; and both Caled and Amrou, the future conquerors of Syria and Egypt, most seasonably deserted the sinking cause of idolatry. The power of Mahomet was increased by the submission of the Arabian tribes: Ten thousand soldiers were assembled for the conquest of Mecca, and the idolaters, the weaker party, were easily convicted of violating the truce. Enthusiasm and discipline impelled the march and preserved the secret, till the blaze of ten thousand fires proclaimed to the astonished Koreish, the design, the approach, and the irresistible force of the enemy. The haughty Abu Sophian presented the keys of the city, admired the variety of arms and ensigns that passed before him in review; observed that the son of Abdallah had acquired a mighty kingdom, and confessed, under the scymetar of Omar, that he was the apostle of the true God. The return of Marius and Sylla was stained with the blood of the Romans; the revenge of Mahomet was stimulated by religious zeal, and his injured followers were eager to execute or to prevent the order of a massacre. Instead of indulging their passions and his own*,

X 2

the

* After the conquest of Mecca, the Mahomet of Voltaire imagines and perpetrates the most horrid crimes. The poet confesses,

C H A P. the victorious exile forgave the guilt, and united
 L. the factions, of Mecca. His troops, in three divisions, marched into the city; eight and twenty of the inhabitants were slain by the sword of Called; eleven men and six women were proscribed by the sentence of Mahomet; but he blamed the cruelty of his lieutenant; and several of the most obnoxious victims were indebted for their lives to his clemency or contempt. The chiefs of the Koreish were prostrate at his feet. "What mercy can you expect from the man whom you have wronged?" "We confide in the generosity of our kinsman." "And you shall not confide in vain: Begone! you are safe, you are free." The people of Mecca deserved their pardon by the profession of Islam; and after an exile of seven years, the fugitive missionary was enthroned as the prince and prophet of his native country *. But the three hundred and sixty idols of the Caaba were ignominiously broken; the house of God was purified and adorned; as an example to future times, the apostle again fulfilled the duties of a pilgrim; and a perpetual law was enacted that no unbeliever

confesses, that he is not supported by the truth of history, and can only allege, *qu' celui qui fait la guerre à sa patrie au nom de Dieu, est capable de tout.* (Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. xv. p. 282.) The maxim is neither charitable nor philosophic; and some reverence is surely due to the fame of heroes and the religion of nations. I am informed that a Turkish ambassador at Paris was much scandalized at the representation of this tragedy.

* The Mahometan doctors still dispute, whether Mecca was reduced by force or consent; (Abulfeda, p. 107. et Gagnier ad locum,) and this verbal controversy is of as much moment, as our own about William the Conqueror.

unbeliever should dare to set his foot on the territory of the holy city *.

The conquest of Mecca determined the faith and obedience of the Arabian tribes †; who, according to the vicissitudes of fortune, had obeyed or disregarded the eloquence or the arms of the prophet. Indifference for rites and opinions still marks the character of the Bedoweens; and they might accept, as loosely as they hold, the doctrine of the Koran. Yet an obstinate remnant still adhered to the religion and liberty of their ancestors, and the war of Honain derived a proper appellation from the *idols*, whom Mahomet had vowed to destroy, and whom the confederates of Tayef had sworn to defend ‡. Four thousand Pagans advanced with secrecy and speed to surprise the conqueror; they pitied and despised the supine negligence of the Koreish, but they depended on the wishes, and perhaps the aid, of a people who had so lately renounced their gods, and bowed beneath the yoke of their enemy. The banners of

C H A P.
L.
Conquest
of Arabia,
A. D.
629—632.

X 3

Medina

* In excluding the Christians from the peninsula of Arabia, the province of Hejaz, or the navigation of the Red Sea, Charadin (*Voyages en Perse*, tom. iv. p. 166.) and Reland (*Dissert. Miscell.* tom. iii. p. 51.) are more rigid than the Mussulmans themselves. The Christians are received without scruple into the ports of Mocha, and even of Gedda, and it is only the city and precincts of Mecca that are inaccessible to the profane. (Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 308, 309. *Voyage en Arabie*, tom. i. p. 205. 248, &c.)

† Abulfeda, p. 112—115. Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 67—88. D'Herbelot, MOHAMMED.

‡ The siege of Tayef, division of the spoil, &c. are related by Abulfeda, (p. 117—123.) and Gagnier, (tom. iii. p. 88—111.) It is Al Jannabi who mentions the engines and engineers of the tribe of Daws. The fertile spot of Tayef was supposed to be a piece of the land of Syria detached and dropped in the general deluge.

C H A P. Medina and Mecca were displayed by the prophet ;
L. a crowd of Bedoweens increased the strength or
numbers of the army, and twelve thousand Mussulmans entertained a rash and sinful presumption of their invincible strength. They descended without precaution into the valley of Honain ; the heights had been occupied by the archers and slingers of the confederates ; their numbers were oppressed, their discipline was confounded, their courage was appalled, and the Koreish smiled at their impending destruction. The prophet, on his white mule, was encompassed by the enemies ; he attempted to rush against their spears in search of a glorious death : Ten of his faithful companions interposed their weapons and their breasts ; three of these fell dead at his feet : “ O my brethren,” he repeatedly cried with sorrow and indignation, “ I am the son of Abdallah, I am the apostle of truth ! “ O man stand fast in the faith ! O God send “ down thy succour ! ” His uncle Abbas, who like the heroes of Homer, excelled in the loudness of his voice, made the valley resound with the recital of the gifts and promises of God ; the flying Moslems returned from all sides to the holy standard ; and Mahomet observed with pleasure, that the furnace was again rekindled ; his conduct and example restored the battle, and he animated his victorious troops to inflict a merciless revenge on the authors of their shame. From the field of Honain, he marched without delay to the siege of Tayef, sixty miles to the south-east of Mecca, a fortress of strength, whose fertile lands produce the fruits of Syria in the midst of the Arabian desert.

A friendly tribe, instructed (I know not how) in the art of sieges, supplied him with a train of battering rams and military engines, with a body of five hundred artificers. But it was in vain that he offered freedom to the slaves of Tayef; that he violated his own laws by the extirpation of the fruit-trees; that the ground was opened by the miners; that the breach was assaulted by the troops. After a siege of twenty days, the prophet sounded a retreat, but he retreated with a song of devout triumph, and affected to pray for the repentance and safety of the unbelieving city. The spoil of this fortunate expedition amounted to six thousand captives, twenty-four thousand camels, forty-thousand sheep, and four thousand ounces of silver: a tribe who had fought at Honain, redeemed their prisoners by the sacrifice of their idols; but Mahomet compensated the loss, by resigning to the soldiers his fifth of the plunder, and wished for their sake, that he possessed as many head of cattle as there were trees in the province of Tehama. Instead of chastising the disaffection of the Koreish, he endeavoured to cut out their tongues (his own expression), and to secure their attachment by a superior measure of liberality: Abu Sophian alone was presented with three hundred camels and twenty ounces of silver; and Mecca was sincerely converted to the profitable religion of the Koran.

The *fugitives* and *auxiliaries* complained, that they who had borne the burthen were neglected in the season of victory. "Alas," replied their artful leader, "suffer me to conciliate these recent

C H A P. " enemies, these doubtful proselytes, by the gift of
 L. " some perishable goods. To your guard I entrust
 { " my life and fortunes. You are the companions
 " of my exile, of my kingdom, of my paradise." He was followed by the deputies of Tayef, who dreaded the repetition of a siege. " Grant us, O
 " apostle of God ! a truce of three years, with the
 " toleration of our ancient worship." " Not a
 " month, not an hour." " Excuse us at least
 " from the obligation of prayer." " Without
 " prayer religion is of no avail." They submitted
 in silence; their temples were demolished, and the
 same sentence of destruction was executed on all
 the idols of Arabia. His lieutenants, on the shores
 of the Red Sea, the Ocean, and the Gulf of Persia,
 were saluted by the acclamations of a faithful
 people; and the ambassadors who knelt before the
 throne of Medina, were as numerous (says the
 Arabian proverb) as the dates that fall from the
 maturity of a palm-tree. The nation submitted to
 the God and the sceptre of Mahomet; the opprobrious
 name of tribute was abolished; the spontaneous
 or reluctant oblations of alms and tithes
 were applied to the service of religion; and one
 hundred and fourteen thousand Moslems accompanied
 the last pilgrimage of the apostle *.

First war
 of the
 Mahome-
 tans
 against
 the Roman
 empire.

When Heraclius returned in triumph from the
 Persian war, he entertained, at Emesa, one of the
 ambassadors of Mahomet, who invited the princes
 and

* The last conquests and pilgrimage of Mahomet are contained in Abulfeda, (p. 121—133.) Gagnier, (tom. iii. p. 119—219.) Elmacin, (p. 10, 11.) Abulpharagius, (p. 103.) The ixth of the Hegira was stiled the Year of Embassies, (Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 121.)

and nations of the earth to the profession of Islam. C H A P.
L.
 On this foundation the zeal of the Arabians has supposed the secret conversion of the Christian emperor: The vanity of the Greeks has feigned a personal visit to the prince of Medina, who accepted from the royal bounty a rich domain, and a secure retreat in the province of Syria *. But the friendship of Heraclius and Mahomet was of short continuance: the new religion had inflamed rather than assuaged the rapacious spirit of the Saracens; and the murder of an envoy afforded a decent pretence for invading, with three thousand soldiers, the territory of Palestine, that extends to the eastward of the Jordan. The holy banner was entrusted to Zeid; and such was the discipline or enthusiasm of the rising sect, that the noblest chiefs served without reluctance, under the slave of the prophet. On the event of his decease, Jaafar and Abdallah were successively substituted to the command; and if the three should perish in the war, the troops were authorised to elect their general. The three leaders were slain in the battle of Muta †, the first military action which tried the valour of the Moslems against a foreign enemy. Zeid fell, like a soldier, in the foremost ranks: The death of Jaafar was heroic and memorable; he lost his right-hand; he shifted the standard to his left;

* Compare the bigotted Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 232—255.) with the no less bigotted Greeks, Theophanes, (p. 276—278.) Zonaras, (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 86.) and Cedrenus, (p. 421.)

† For the battle of Muta, and its consequences, see Abulfeda (p. 100—102.) and Gagnier, (tom. ii. p. 327—343.) Καλλιδος (says Theophanes) οὐ ληγῶσι μαχαιρᾷ τῷ Θεῷ.

C H A P. left; the left was severed from his body; he embraced the standard with his bleeding stumps, till he was transfixcd to the ground with fifty honourable wounds. "Advance," cried Abdallah, who stepped into the vacant place, "advance with confidence: either victory or paradise is our own." The lance of a Roman decided the alternative; but the falling standard was rescued by Caled, the proselyte of Mecca: Nine swords were broken in his hand; and his valour withstood and repulsed the superior numbers of the Christians. In the nocturnal council of the camp he was chosen to command: His skilful evolutions of the ensuing day secured either the victory or the retreat of the Saracens; and Caled is renowned among his brethren and his enemies, by the glorious appellation of the *Sword of God*. In the pulpit, Mahomet described, with prophetic rapture, the crowns of the blessed martyrs; but in private he betrayed the feelings of human nature; he was surprised as he wept over the daughter of Zeid: "What do I see?" said the astonished votary. "You see," replied the apostle, "a friend who is deploring the loss of his most faithful friend." After the conquest of Mecca the sovereign of Arabia affected to prevent the hostile preparations of Heraclius; and solemnly proclaimed war against the Romans, without attempting to disguise the hardships and dangers of the enterprise *. The Moslems were discou-

* The expedition of Tabuc is recorded by our ordinary historians, Abulfeda (Vit. Moham. p. 123—127.) and Gagnier; (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 147—163.) but we have the advantage of appealing to the original evidence of the Koran, (c. 9. p. 154. 165.) with Sale's learned and rational notes.

discouraged: They alleged the want of money, or horses, or provisions; the season of harvest, and the intolerable heat of the summer: "Hell is much hotter," said the indignant prophet. He disdained to compel their service; but on his return he admonished the most guilty, by an excommunication of fifty days. Their desertion enhanced the merit of Abubeker, Othman, and the faithful companions who devoted their lives and fortunes; and Mahomet displayed his banner at the head of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. Painful indeed was the distress of the march; lassitude and thirst were aggravated by the scorching and pestilential winds of the desert; ten men rode by turns on the same camel; and they were reduced to the shameful necessity of drinking the water from the belly of that useful animal. In the mid-way, ten days journey from Medina and Damascus, they reposed near the grove and fountain of Tabuc. Beyond that place, Mahomet declined the prosecution of the war; he declared himself satisfied with the peaceful intentions, he was more probably daunted by the martial array, of the emperor of the East. But the active and intrepid Caled spread around the terror of his name; and the prophet received the submission of the tribes and cities, from the Euphrates to Ailah, at the head of the Red Sea. To his Christian subjects, Mahomet readily granted the security of their persons, the freedom of their trade, the property of their goods, and the toleration of their worship*. The weakness

* The *Diploma securitatis Ailensibus*, is attested by Ahmed Ben Joseph, and the author *Libri Splendorum*, (Gagnier. Not. ad Abulfedam, p. 125.) but Abulfeda himself, as well as Elmacin,

C H A P. weakness of their Arabian brethren had restrained
L. them from opposing his ambition; the disciples of
 Jesus were endeared to the enemy of the Jews;
 and it was the interest of a conqueror to propose
 a fair capitulation to the most powerful religion
 of the earth.

**Death of
 Mahomet,
 A. D. 632,
 June 7.**

Till the age of sixty-three years, the strength of
 Mahomet was equal to the temporal and spiritual
 fatigues of his mission. His epileptic fits, an ab-
 surd calumny of the Greeks, would be an object of
 pity rather than abhorrence *; but he seriously
 believed that he was poisoned at Chaibar by the
 revenge of a Jewish female †. During four years,
 the

macin, (Hist. Saracen. p. 11.) though he owns Mahomet's re-
 gard for the Christians, (p. 13.) only mention peace and tri-
 bute. In the year 1630, Sionita published at Paris the text
 and version of Mahomet's patent in favour of the Christians;
 which was admitted and reprobated by the opposite taste of
 Salmasius and Grotius. (Bayle, MAHOMET, Rem. AA.) Hottinger
 doubts of its authenticity; (Hist. Orient. p. 237.) Renaudot
 urges the consent of the Mahometans; (Hist. Patriarch.
 Alex. p. 169.) but Mosheim (Hist. Eccles. p. 244.) shews the
 futility of their opinion, and inclines to believe it spurious.
 Yet Abulpharagius quotes the impostor's treaty with the Nes-
 torian patriarch; (Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 418.)
 but Abulpharagius was primate of the Jacobites.

* The epilepsy, or falling-sickness, of Mahomet, is asserted
 by Theophanes, Zonaras, and the rest of the Greeks; and is
 greedily swallowed by the gross bigotry of Hottinger, (Hist.
 Orient. p. 10, 11.) Prideaux, (Life of Mahomet, p. 12.) and
 Maracci, (tom. ii. Alcoran, p. 762, 763.) The titles (*the wrap-
 ped up, the covered*) of two chapters of the Koran, (73, 74.) can
 hardly be strained to such an interpretation; the silence, the
 ignorance of the Mahometan commentators, is more conclusive
 than the most peremptory denial; and the charitable side is
 espoused by Ockley, (Hist. of the Saracens, tom. i. p. 301.)
 Gagnier, (ad Abulfeda, p. 9. Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 118.)
 and Sale, (Koran, p. 469—474.)

† This poison (more ignominious since it was offered as a
 test of his prophetic knowledge) is frankly confessed by his
 zealous votaries, Abulfeda (p. 92.) and Al Jannabi; (apud
 Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 286—288.)

the health of the prophet declined; his infirmities increased; but his mortal disease was a fever of fourteen days, which deprived him by intervals of the use of reason. As soon as he was conscious of his danger, he edified his brethren by the humility of his virtue or penitence. "If there be any man," said the apostle from the pulpit, "whom I have unjustly scourged, I submit my own back to the lash of retaliation. Have I aspersed the reputation of a Mussulman? let him proclaim *my* faults in the face of the congregation. Has any one been despoiled of his goods? the little that I possess shall compensate the principal and the interest of the debt." "Yes," replied a voice from the crowd, "I am entitled to three drams of silver." Mahomet heard the complaint, satisfied the demand, and thanked his creditor for accusing him in this world rather than at the day of judgment. He beheld with temperate firmness the approach of death; enfranchised his slaves; (seventeen men, as they are named, and eleven women) minutely directed the order of his funeral, and moderated the lamentations of his weeping friends, on whom he bestowed the benediction of peace. Till the third day before his death, he regularly performed the function of public prayer: The choice of Abubeker to supply his place, appeared to mark that ancient and faithful friend as his successor in the sacerdotal and regal office; but he prudently declined the risk and envy of a more explicit nomination. At a moment when his faculties were visibly impaired, he called for pen
and

C H A P.
L.

C H A P. and ink, to write, or more properly to dictate, a
L. divine book, the sum and accomplishment of all
his revelations; a dispute arose in the chamber, whether he should be allowed to supersede the authority of the Koran; and the prophet was forced to reprove the indecent vehemence of his disciples. If the slightest credit may be afforded to the traditions of his wives and companions, he maintained in the bosom of his family, and to the last moments of his life, the dignity of an apostle and the faith of an enthusiast; described the visits of Gabriel, who bade an everlasting farewell to the earth, and expressed his lively confidence, not only of the mercy but of the favour of the Supreme Being. In a familiar discourse he had mentioned his special prerogative, that the angel of death was not allowed to take his soul till he had respectfully asked the permission of the prophet. The request was granted; and Mahomet immediately fell into the agony of his dissolution; his head was reclined on the lap of Ayesha, the best beloved of all his wives; he fainted with the violence of pain; recovering his spirits, he raised his eyes towards the roof of the house, and, with a steady look, though a faltering voice, uttered the last broken, though articulate, words: "O God! pardon my sins
" Yes, I come, among my
" fellow-citizens on high;" and thus peaceably expired on a carpet spread upon the floor. An expedition for the conquest of Syria was stopped by this mournful event; the army halted at the gates of Medina; the chiefs were assembled round
their

C H A P.

L.

their dying master. The city, more especially the house of the prophet, was a scene of clamorous sorrow, or silent despair: fanaticism alone could suggest a ray of hope and consolation. "How can he be dead, our witness, our intercessor, our mediator with God? By God he is not dead; like Moses and Jesus, he is wrapt in a holy trance, and speedily will he return to his faithful people." The evidence of sense was disregarded; and Omar unsheathing his scymetar, threatened to strike off the heads of the infidels, who should dare to affirm that the prophet was no more. The tumult was appeased by the weight and moderation of Abubeker. "Is it Mahomet," said he to Omar and the multitude, "or the God of Mahomet, whom you worship? The God of Mahomet liveth for ever, but the apostle was a mortal like ourselves, and according to his own prediction, he has experienced the common fate of mortality." He was piously interred by the hands of his nearest kinsman, on the same spot on which he expired*; Medina has been sanctified by the death and burial of Mahomet;

* The Greeks and Latins have invented and propagated the vulgar and ridiculous story, that Mahomet's iron tomb is suspended in the air at Mecca, (*συνεστειμένη αέρι*. Laonicus Chalcondyles de Rebus Turcicis, l. iii. p. 66.) by the action of equal and potent loadstones. (Dictionnaire de Bayle, MAHOMET, Rem. EE. FF.) Without any philosophical inquiries, it may suffice, that, 1. The prophet was not buried at Mecca; and, 2. That his tomb at Medina, which has been visited by millions, is placed on the ground, (Roland de Relig. Moham. l. ii. c. 19. p. 209—211.) Gagnier, (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 263—268.)

C H A P. met; and the innumerable pilgrims of Mecca often
 L. turn aside from the way, to bow in voluntary devotion *, before the simple tomb of the prophet †.

His character.

At the conclusion of the life of Mahomet, it may perhaps be expected, that I should balance his faults and virtues, that I should decide whether the title of enthusiast or impostor more properly belongs to that extraordinary man. Had I been intimately conversant with the son of Abdallah, the task would still be difficult, and the success uncertain: At the distance of twelve centuries, I darkly contemplate his shade through a cloud of religious incense; and could I truly delineate the portrait of an hour, the fleeting resemblance would not equally apply to the solitary of mount Hera, to the preacher of Mecca, and to the conqueror of Arabia. The author of a mighty revolution appears to have been endowed with a pious and contemplative disposition: So soon as marriage had raised him above the pressure of want, he avoided the paths of ambition and avarice; and, till the age of forty, he lived with innocence, and would have died

* Al Jannabi enumerates (*Vie de Mahomet*, tom. iii. p. 372—391.) the multifarious duties of a pilgrim who visits the tombs of the prophet and his companions; and the learned casuist decides, that this act of devotion is nearest in obligation and merit to a divine precept. The doctors are divided, which, of Mecca and Medina, be the most excellent, (p. 391—394.)

† The last sickness, death, and burial of Mahomet, are described by Abulfeda and Gagnier. (*Vit. Moham.* p. 133—142. *Vie de Mahomet*, tom. iii. p. 220—271.) The most private and interesting circumstances were originally received from Ayesha, Ali, the sons of Abbas, &c.; and as they dwelt at Medina, and survived the prophet many years, they might repeat the pious tale to a second or third generation of pilgrims.

died without a name. The unity of God is an idea most congenial to nature and reason ; and a slight conversation with the Jews and Christians would teach him to despise and detest the idolatry of Mecca. It was the duty of a man and a citizen to impart the doctrine of salvation, to rescue his country from the dominion of sin and error. The energy of a mind incessantly bent on the same object, would convert a general obligation into a particular call ; the warm suggestions of the understanding or the fancy, would be felt as the inspirations of heaven ; the labour of thought would expire in rapture and vision ; and the inward sensation, the invisible monitor, would be described with the form and attributes of an angel of God *. From enthusiasm to imposture, the step is perilous and slippery ; the dæmon of Socrates † affords a memorable

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Y

memorable

* The Christians, rashly enough, have assigned to Mahomet a tame pigeon, that seemed to descend from heaven and whisper in his ear. As this pretended miracle is urged by Grotius, (de Veritate Religionis Christianæ,) his Arabic translator, the learned Pocock, inquired of him the names of his authors ; and Grotius confessed, that it is unknown to the Mahometans themselves. Lest it should provoke their indignation and laughter, the pious *lie* is suppressed in the Arabic version ; but it has maintained an edifying place in the numerous editions of the Latin text, (Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 186, 187. Reland, de Religion. Moham. l. ii. c. 39. p. 259—262.)

† Εμὼ δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ παῖδες ἀρχαῖοι, φησὶ τις γιγνομένη ἢ ὅταν γινῆται αὐτὸς ἀποτρέψῃ μὴ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ αὐτὸς μὴ πρᾶττειν, προτρέψῃ δὲ ὑποτι, (Plato, in Apolog. Socrat. c. 19. p. 121, 122. edit. Fischer.) The familiar examples, which Socrates urges in his Dialogue with Theages, (Platon. Opera, tom. i. p. 128, 129. edit. Hen. Stephan.) are beyond the reach of human foresight ; and the divine inspiration (the δαίμονιον) of the philosopher, is clearly taught in the Memorabilia of Xenophon. The ideas of
the

C H A P. memorable instance, how a wise man may deceive
 L. himself, how a good man may deceive others; how
 { the conscience may slumber in a mixed and middle
 state between self-illusion and voluntary fraud. Charity may believe that the original motives of Mahomet were those of pure and genuine-benevolence; but a human missionary is incapable of cherishing the obstinate unbelievers who reject his claims, despise his arguments, and persecute his life; he might forgive his personal adversaries, he may lawfully hate the enemies of God; the stern passions of pride and revenge were kindled in the bosom of Mahomet, and he sighed like the prophet of Nineveh, for the destruction of the rebels whom he had condemned. The injustice of Mecca, and the choice of Medina, transformed the citizen into a prince, the humble preacher into the leader of armies; but his sword was consecrated by the example of the saints; and the same God who afflicts a sinful world with pestilence and earthquakes, might inspire for their conversion or chastisement the valour of his servants. In the exercise of political government, he was compelled to abate of the stern rigour of fanaticism, to comply in some measure with the prejudices and passions of his followers, and to employ even the vices of mankind as the instruments of their salvation. The use of fraud and perfidy, of cruelty and injustice, were often subservient to the propagation of the faith; and Mahomet commanded or approved the assassination of the Jews and idolaters

most rational Platonists are expressed by Cicero (*de Divinat.* i. 54.) and in the fourteenth and fifteenth Dissertations of Maximus of Tyre, (p. 153—172. edit. Davis.)

ters who had escaped from the field of battle. By the repetition of such acts, the character of Mahomet must have been gradually stained; and the influence of such pernicious habits would be poorly compensated by the practice of the personal and social virtues which are necessary to maintain the reputation of a prophet among his sectaries and friends. Of his last years, ambition was the ruling passion; and a politician will suspect, that he secretly smiled (the victorious impostor!) at the enthusiasm of his youth, and the credulity of his proselytes *. A philosopher will observe, that *their* cruelty and *his* success would tend more strongly to fortify the assurance of his divine mission, that his interest and religion were inseparably connected, and that his conscience would be soothed by the persuasion, that he alone was absolved by the Deity from the obligation of positive and moral laws. If he retained any vestige of his native innocence, the sins of Mahomet may be allowed as an evidence of his sincerity. In the support of truth, the arts of fraud and fiction may be deemed less criminal; and he would have started at the foulness of the means, had he not been satisfied of the importance and justice of the end. Even in a conqueror or a priest, I can surprise a word or action of unaffected humanity; and the decree of Mahomet, that, in the sale of captives, the mothers should never be separated from their

Y 2 children,

* In some passage of his voluminous writings, Voltaire compares the prophet, in his old age, to a fakir: " Qui detache la chaine de son cou pour en donner sur les oreilles à ses confreres."

G H A P. children, may suspend or moderate the censure
 L. of the historian *.

Private
 life of
 Mahomet.

The good sense of Mahomet † despised the pomp of royalty ; the apostle of God submitted to the menial offices of the family ; he kindled the fire, swept the floor, milked the ewes, and mended with his own hands his shoes and his woollen garment. Disdaining the penance and merit of an hermit, he observed without effort or vanity, the abstemious diet of an Arab and a soldier. On solemn occasions, he feasted his companions with rustic and hospitable plenty ; but in his domestic life, many weeks would elapse without a fire being kindled on the hearth of the prophet. The interdiction of wine was confirmed by his example ; his hunger was appeased with a sparing allowance of barley-bread ; he delighted in the taste of milk and honey ; but his ordinary food consisted of dates and water. Perfumes and women were the two sensual enjoyments which his nature required, and his religion did not forbid ; and Mahomet affirmed, that
 the

* Gagnier relates, with the same impartial pen, this humane law of the prophet, and the murders of Caab, and Sophian, which he prompted and approved ; (Vic de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 69. 97. 208.)

† For the domestic life of Mahomet, consult Gagnier, and the corresponding chapters of Abulfeda ; for his diet, (tom. iii. p. 285—288.) his children, (p. 189. 289.) his wives, (p. 290—303.) his marriage with Zeineb, (tom. ii. p. 152—160.) his amour with Mary, (p. 303—309.) the false accusation of Ayesha, (p. 186—199.) The most original evidence of the three last transactions is contained in the xxiv. xxxiii. and lxvi. chapters of the Koran, with Sale's Commentary. Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 80—90.) and Maracci (Prodrom. Alcoran, part iv. p. 49—59.) have maliciously exaggerated the frailties of Mahomet.

the fervour of his devotion was increased by these innocent pleasures. The heat of the climate inflames the blood of the Arabs; and their libidinous complexion has been noticed by the writers of antiquity *. Their incontinence was regulated by the civil and religious laws of the Koran; their incestuous alliances were blamed, the boundless licence of polygamy was reduced to four legitimate wives or concubines; their rights both of bed and of dowry were equitably determined; the freedom of divorce was discouraged, adultery was condemned as a capital offence, and fornication, in either sex, was punished with an hundred stripes †. Such were the calm and rational precepts of the legislator; but in his private conduct, Mahomet indulged the appetites of a man, and abused the claims of a prophet. A special revelation dispensed him from the laws which he had imposed on his nation; the female sex, without reserve, was abandoned to his desires; and this singular prerogative excited the envy, rather than the scandal, the veneration, rather than the envy, of the devout Mussulmans. If we remember the seven hundred C H A P.
L. wives and three hundred concubines of the wise Solomon, we shall applaud the modesty of the Arabian, who espoused no more than seventeen or fifteen wives; eleven are enumerated who occupied at Medina their separate apartments round the His wives,

Y. 3 house

* *Incredibile est quo ardore apud eos in Venerem uterque solvitur sexus*, (Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiv. c. 4.)

† Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 133—137.) has recapitulated the laws of marriage, divorce, &c. and the curious reader of Selden's *Uxor Hebraica* will recognize many Jewish ordinances.

CHAPTER. house of the apostle, and enjoyed in their turns the
 L. favour of his conjugal society. What is singular
 enough, they were all widows, excepting only
 Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker. *She* was
 doubtless a virgin, since Mahomet consummated
 his nuptials (such is the premature ripeness of the
 climate) when she was only nine years of age. The
 youth, the beauty, the spirit of Ayesha, gave her
 a superior ascendant ; she was beloved and trusted
 by the prophet ; and, after his death, the daughter
 of Abubeker was long revered as the mother of
 the faithful. Her behaviour had been ambiguous
 and indiscreet ; in a nocturnal march, she was ac-
 cidentally left behind ; and in the morning Ayesha
 returned to the camp with a man. The temper of
 Mahomet was inclined to jealousy ; but a divine
 revelation assured him of her innocence : He chas-
 tised her accusers, and published a law of domestic
 peace, that no woman should be condemned unless
 four male witnesses had seen her in the act of adul-
 tery *. In his adventures with Zeineb, the wife
 of Zeid, and with Mary, an Egyptian captive, the
 amorous prophet forgot the interest of his reputa-
 tion. At the house of Zeid, his freedman and
 adopted son, he beheld, in a loose undress, the
 beauty of Zeineb, and burst forth into an ejacu-
 lation of devotion and desire. The servile, or
 grateful freedman, understood the hint, and yield-
 ed, without hesitation, to the love of his benefactor.

But

* In a memorable case, the caliph Omar decided, that all presumptive evidence was of no avail ; and that all the four witnesses must have actually seen stylum in pyxide ; (*Abulfeda*, *Annales Moslemici*, p. 71. vers. *Reiske*.)

But as the filial relation had excited some doubt C H A P.
 and scandal, the angel Gabriel descended from I.
 heaven to ratify the deed, to annul the adoption, {
 and gently to reprove the apostle for distrusting,
 the indulgence of his God. One of his wives,
 Hafna, the daughter of Omar, surprised him on
 her own bed, in the embraces of his Egyptian cap-
 tive; she promised secrecy and forgiveness; he
 swore that he would renounce the possession of
 Mary. Both parties forgot their engagements;
 and Gabriel again descended with a chapter of the
 Koran, to absolve him from his oath, and to ex-
 hort him freely to enjoy his captives and concu-
 bines, without listening to the clamours of his
 wives. In a solitary retreat of thirty days, he la-
 boured, alone with Mary, to fulfil the commands
 of the angel. When his love and revenge were
 satiated, he summoned to his presence his eleven
 wives, reproached their disobedience and indiscre-
 tion, and threatened them with a sentence of di-
 vorce, both in this world and in the next; a dread-
 ful sentence, since those who had ascended the bed
 of the prophet were for ever excluded from the
 hope of a second marriage. Perhaps the incon-
 tinence of Mahomet may be palliated by the tra-
 dition of the natural or preternatural gift *; he
Y 4 united

* Sibi robur ad generationem, quantum triginta viri habent, inesse jactaret; ita ut unicâ horâ posset undecim fœminis *satisfacere*, ut ex Arabum libris refert Stus Petrus Paschasius, c. 2. (Maracci, Prodomus Alcoran, p. iv. p. 55. See likewise Observations de Belon, l. iii. c. 10. fol. 179. recto.) Al Jannabi (Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 487.) records his own testimony, that he surpassed all men in conjugal vigour; and Abulfeda mentions the exclamation of Ali, who washed his body after his death, "O propheta, certe pœnis tuus cœlum versus erectus est," (In Vit. Mohammed. p. 140.)

C H A P. united the manly virtue of thirty of the children of
 L. Adam; and the apostle might rival the thirteenth
 labour * of the Grecian Hercules †. A more serious and decent excuse may be drawn from his fidelity to Cadijah. During the twenty-four years of their marriage, her youthful husband abstained from the right of polygamy, and the pride or tenderness of the venerable matron was never insulted by the society of a rival. After her death, he placed her in the rank of the four perfect women, with the sister of Moses, the mother of Jesus and Fatima, the best beloved of his daughters. "Was she not old?" said Ayesha, with the insolence of a blooming beauty; "has not God given you a better in her place?" "No, by God," said Mahomet, with an effusion of honest gratitude, "there never can be a better! she believed in me, when men despised me; she relieved my wants, when I was poor and persecuted by the world ‡."

and child-
 ren.

In the largest indulgence of polygamy, the founder of a religion and empire might aspire to multiply the chances of a numerous posterity and a lineal succession. The hopes of Mahomet were fatally disappointed. The virgin Ayesha, and his ten widows

* I borrow the stile of a father of the church, *παλιων Ηρακλεις τρισκαιδικατον αθλων* (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 108.)

† The common and most glorious legend includes, in a single night, the fifty victories of Hercules over the virgin daughters of Thestius; (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. iv. p. 274. Pausanias, l. ix. p. 763. Statius Sylv. l. i. eleg. iii. v. 42.) But Athenæus allows seven nights, (Deipnosophist. l. xiii. p. 556.) and Apollodorus fifty, for this arduous atchievement of Hercules, who was then no more than eighteen years of age, (Bibliot. l. ii. c. 4. p. 111. cum notis Heyne, part i. p. 332.)

‡ Abulfeda in Vit. Moham. p. 12, 13, 16, 17. cum notis Gagnier.

widows of mature age and approved fertility, were barren in his potent embraces. The four sons of Cadijah died in their infancy. Mary, his Egyptian concubine, was endeared to him by the birth of Ibrahim. At the end of fifteen months the prophet wept over his grave; but he sustained with firmness the raillery of his enemies, and checked the adulation or credulity of the Moslems, by the assurance that an eclipse of the sun was *not* occasioned by the death of the infant. Cadijah had likewise given him four daughters, who were married to the most faithful of his disciples; the three eldest died before their father; but Fatima, who possessed his confidence and love, became the wife of her cousin Ali, and the mother of an illustrious progeny. The merit and misfortunes of Ali and his descendants will lead me to anticipate, in this place, the series of the Saracen caliphs, a title which describes the commanders of the faithful as the vicars and successors of the apostle of God *.

The birth, the alliance, the character of Ali, which exalted him above the rest of his countrymen, might justify his claim to the vacant throne of Arabia. The son of Abu Taleb was, in his own right, the chief of the family of Hashem, and the hereditary

* This outline of the Arabian history is drawn from the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of d'Herbelot, (under the names of *Aboubecre, Omar, Othman, Ali, &c.*) from the *Annals* of Abulfeda, Abulpharagius, and Elmacin, (under the proper years of the *Hegira*), and especially from Ockley's *History* of the Saracens, (vol. i. p. 1—10. 115—122. 229. 249. 363—372. 378—391. and almost the whole of the second volume.) Yet we should weigh with caution the traditions of the hostile sects; a stream which becomes still more muddy as it flows farther from the source. Sir John Chardin has too faithfully copied the fables and errors of the modern Persians, (*Voyages*, tom. ii. p. 235—250, &c.)

C H A P. hereditary prince or guardian of the city and
L. temple of Mecca. The light of prophecy was
extinct; but the husband of Fatima might expect
the inheritance and blessing of her father; the Arabs
had sometimes been patient of a female reign;
and the two grandsons of the prophet had often
been fondled in his lap, and shewn in his pulpit,
as the hope of his age, and the chief of the youth
of paradise. The first of the true believers might
aspire to march before them in this world and in
the next; and if some were of a graver and more
rigid cast, the zeal and virtue of Ali were never
outstripped by any recent proselyte. He united
the qualifications of a poet, a soldier, and a saint;
his wisdom still breathes in a collection of moral
and religious sayings*; and every antagonist, in
the combats of the tongue or of the sword, was
subdued by his eloquence and valour. From the
first hour of his mission to the last rites of his fu-
neral, the apostle was never forsaken by a generous
friend, whom he delighted to name his brother,
his vicegerent, and the faithful Aaron of a second
Moses. The son of Abu Taleb was afterwards
reproached for neglecting to secure his interest by
a solemn declaration of his right, which would
have silenced all competition, and sealed his suc-
cession by the decrees of heaven. But the un-
suspecting hero confided in himself; the jealousy
of empire, and perhaps the fear of opposition, might
suspend

* Ockley (at the end of his second volume) has given an English version of 169 sentences, which he ascribes, with some hesitation, to Ali, the son of Abu Taleb. His preface is coloured by the enthusiasm of a translator; yet these sentences delineate a characteristic, though dark, picture of human life.

suspend the resolutions of Mahomet ; and the bed of sickness was besieged by the artful Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker, and the enemy of Ali.

The silence and death of the prophet restored the liberty of the people ; and his companions convened an assembly to deliberate on the choice of his successor. The hereditary claim and lofty spirit of Ali were offensive to an aristocracy of elders, desirous of bestowing and resuming the sceptre, by a free and frequent election : The Koreish could never be reconciled to the proud pre-eminence of the line of Hashem ; the ancient discord of the tribes was rekindled ; the *fugitives* of Mecca and the *auxiliaries* of Medina asserted their respective merits, and the rash proposal of chusing two independent caliphs would have crushed, in their infancy, the religion and empire of the Saracens. The tumult was appeased by the disinterested resolution of Omar, who, suddenly renouncing his own pretensions, stretched forth his hand, and declared himself the first subject of the mild and venerable Abubeker. The urgency of the moment, and the acquiescence of the people, might excuse this illegal and precipitate measure ; but Omar himself confessed from the pulpit, that if any Mussulman should hereafter presume to anticipate the suffrage of his brethren, both the elector and the elected would be worthy of death*. After the

C H A P.

L.

Reign of
Abube-
ker ;
A. D. 632,
June 7.

* Ockley, (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 5, 6.) from an Arabian MS. represents Ayesha as adverse to the substitution of her father in the place of the apostle. This fact, so improbable in itself, is unnoticed by Abulfeda, Al Jannabi, and Al Bochari ; the last of whom quotes the tradition of Ayesha herself ; (Vit. Mohammed. p. 136. Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 236.)

CHAP. the simple inauguration of Abubeker, he was
 L. obeyed in Medina, Mecca, and the provinces of
 Arabia ; the Hashemites alone declined the oath
 of fidelity ; and their chief, in his own house,
 maintained, above six months, a sullen and inde-
 pendent reserve ; without listening to the threats
 of Omar, who attempted to consume with fire the
 habitation of the daughter of the apostle. The
 death of Fatima, and the decline of his party,
 subdued the indignant spirit of Ali : He conde-
 scended to salute the commander of the faithful,
 accepted his excuse of the necessity of preventing
 their common enemies, and wisely rejected his
 courteous offer of abdicating the government of
 the Arabians. After a reign of two years, the
 aged caliph was summoned by the angel of death.
 In his testament, with the tacit approbation of the
 companions, he bequeathed the sceptre to the
 firm and intrepid virtue of Omar. “ I have no
 “ occasion,” said the modest candidate, “ for the
 “ place.”—“ But the place has occasion for you,”
 replied Abubeker ; who expired with a fervent
 prayer, that the God of Mahomet would ratify
 his choice, and direct the Mussulmans in the way
 of concord and obedience.. The prayer was not
 ineffectual, since Ali himself, in a life of privacy
 and prayer, professed to revere the superior worth
 and dignity of his rival ; who comforted him for
 the loss of empire, by the most flattering marks of
 confidence and esteem. In the twelfth year of his
 reign, Omar received a mortal wound from the
 hand of an assassin ; he rejected with equal impar-
 tiality the names of his son and of Ali, refused to
 load

of Omar ;
 A. D. 634,
 July 24.

load his conscience with the sins of his successor, and devolved on six of the most respectable companions, the arduous task of electing a commander of the faithful. On this occasion, Ali was again blamed by his friends * for submitting his right to the judgment of men, for recognising their jurisdiction by accepting a place among the six electors. He might have obtained their suffrage, had he deigned to promise a strict and servile conformity, not only to the Koran and tradition, but likewise to the determinations of two *seniors* †. With these limitations, Othman, the secretary of Mahomet, accepted the government; nor was it till after the third caliph, twenty-four years after the death of the prophet, that Ali was invested, by the popular choice, with the regal and sacerdotal office. The manners of the Arabians retained their primitive simplicity, and the son of Abu Taleb despised the pomp and vanity of this world. At the hour of prayer, he repaired to the mosch of Medina, clothed in a thin cotton gown, a coarse turban on his head, his slippers in one hand, and his bow in the other, instead of a walking staff. The companions of the prophet and the chiefs of the tribes saluted

C H A P.

L.

of Oth-
man;
A D. 644,
Nov. 6.

* Particularly by his friend and cousin Abdallah, the son of Abbas, who died A. D. 687, with the title of grand doctor of the Moslems. In Abulfeda he recapitulated the important occasions in which Ali had neglected his salutary advice; (p. 76. vers. Reiske;) and concludes, (p. 85.) O princeps fidelium, absque controversia tu quidem vere fortis es, at inops boni consilii, et rerum gerendarum parum callens.

† I suspect that the two seniors (Abulpharagius, p. 115. Ockley, tom. i. p. 371.) may signify not two actual counsellors, but his two predecessors, Abubeker and Omar.

C H A P. saluted their new sovereign, and gave him their
 L. right hands as a sign of fealty and allegiance.

Discord of the Turks and Persians. The mischiefs that flow from the contests of ambition are usually confined to the times and countries in which they have been agitated. But the religious discord of the friends and enemies of Ali has been renewed in every age of the Hegira, and is still maintained in the immortal hatred of the Persians and Turks *. The former, who are branded with the appellation of *Sbiites*, or sectaries, have enriched the Mahometan creed with a new article of faith ; and if Mahomet be the apostle, his companion Ali is the vicar, of God. In their private converse, in their public worship, they bitterly execrate the three usurpers who intercepted his indefeasible right to the dignity of Imam and Caliph ; and the name of Omar expresses, in their tongue, the perfect accomplishment of wickedness and impiety †. The *Sonnites*, who are supported by the general consent and orthodox tradition of the Mussulmans, entertain a more impartial, or at least a more decent opinion. They respect the memory of Abubeker, Omar, Othman, and Ali, the

* The schism of the Persians is explained by all our travellers of the last century, especially in the ii. and iv. volumes of their master, Chardin. Niebuhr, though of inferior merit, has the advantage of writing so late as the year 1764, (*Voyages en Arabie, &c.* tom. ii. p. 208—233.) since the ineffectual attempt of Nadir Shah to change the religion of the nation ; (see his *Persian History*, translated into French by Sir William Jones, tom. ii. p. 5, 6. 47, 48. 144—155.)


† Omar is the name of the devil ; his murderer is a saint. When the Persians shoot with the bow, they frequently cry, " May this arrow go to the heart of Omar !" (*Voyages de Chardin*, tom. ii. p. 239, 240. 259, &c.)

the holy and legitimate successors of the prophet. G H A P.
 But they assign the last and most humble place to L.
 the husband of Fatima, in the persuasion that the
 order of succession was determined by the degrees
 of sanctity*. An historian who balances the four
 caliphs with a hand unshaken by superstition, will
 calmly pronounce, that their manners were alike
 pure and exemplary; that their zeal was fervent,
 and probably sincere; and that in the midst of
 riches and power, their lives were devoted to the
 practice of moral and religious duties. But the
 public virtues of Abubeker and Omar, the pru-
 dence of the first, the severity of the second, main-
 tained the peace and prosperity of their reigns. The
 feeble temper and declining age of Othman were
 incapable of sustaining the weight of conquest and
 empire. He chose, and he was deceived; he trust-
 ed, and he was betrayed: The most deserving of
 the faithful became useless or hostile to his govern-
 ment, and his lavish bounty was productive only
 of ingratitude and discontent. The spirit of dis-
 cord went forth in the provinces, their deputies
 assembled at Medina, and the Charegites, the des-
 perate fanatics who disclaimed the yoke of subor-
 dination and reason, were confounded among the
 free-born Arabs, who demanded the redress of
 their wrongs and the punishment of their oppres-
 sors.

* This gradation of merit is distinctly marked in a creed il-
 lustrated by Reland, (*de Relig. Mohamm.* l. i. p. 37.) and a
 Sonnite argument inserted by Ockley, (*Hist. of the Saracens*,
 tom. ii. p. 230.) The practice of cursing the memory of Ali
 was abolished, after forty years, by the Ommiades themselves;
 (d'Herbelot, p. 690.) and there are few among the Turks
 who presumed to revile him as an infidel, (*Voyages de Char-*
din, tom. iv. p. 46.)

CHAP. sors. From Cufa, from Bassora, from Egypt, from the tribes of the desert, they rose in arms, encamped about a league from Medina, and dispatched an haughty mandate to their sovereign, requiring him to execute justice, or to descend from the throne. His repentance began to disarm and disperse the insurgents; but their fury was rekindled by the arts of his enemies; and the forgery of a perfidious secretary was contrived to blast his reputation and precipitate his fall. The caliph had lost the only guard of his predecessors, the esteem and confidence of the Moslems; during a siege of six weeks his water and provisions were intercepted, and the feeble gates of the palace were protected only by the scruples of the more timorous rebels. Forsaken by those who had abused his simplicity, the helpless and venerable caliph expected the approach of death; the brother of Ayesha marched at the head of the assassins; and Othman, with the Koran in his lap, was pierced with a multitude of wounds. A tumultuous anarchy of five days was appeased by the inauguration of Ali; his refusal would have provoked a general massacre. In this painful situation he supported the becoming pride of the chief of the Hashemites; declared that he had rather serve than reign; rebuked the presumption of the strangers; and required the formal, if not the voluntary, assent of the chiefs of the nation. He has never been accused of prompting the assassin of Omar; though Persia indiscreetly celebrates the festival of that holy martyr. The quarrel between Othman and his

Death of
Othman,
A. D. 655,
June 18.

his subjects were assuaged by the early mediation C H A P.
of Ali; and Hassan, the eldest of his sons, was L.
insulted and wounded in the defence of the caliph. 
Yet it is doubtful whether the father of Hassan,
was strenuous and sincere in his opposition to the
rebels; and it is certain that he enjoyed the be-
nefit of their crime. The temptation was indeed
of such magnitude as might stagger and corrupt
the most obduratè virtue. The ambitious candi-
date no longer aspired to the barren sceptre of
Arabia: The Saracens had been victorious in the
East and West; and the wealthy kingdoms of
Persia, Syria, and Egypt, were the patrimony of
the commander of the faithful.

A life of prayer and contemplation had not chill-
ed the martial activity of Ali; but in a mature age,
after a long experience of mankind, he still betray-
ed in his conduct the rashness and indiscretion of
youth. In the first days of his reign, he neglect-
ed to secure, either by gifts or fetters, the doubt-
ful allegiance of Telha and Zobeir, two of the
most powerful of the Arabian chiefs. They es-
caped from Medina to Mecca, and from thence to
Bassora; erected the standard of revolt; and usurp-
ed the government of Irak, or Assyria, which they
had vainly solicited as the reward of their services.
The mask of patriotism is allowed to cover the
most glaring inconsistencies; and the enemies,
perhaps the assassins, of Othman now demanded
vengeance for his blood. They were accompa-
nied in their flight by Ayesha, the widow of
the prophet, who cherished, to the last hour of
her life, an implacable hatred against the husband

Reign of
Ali, A. D.
655—660.

CHAPTER. and the posterity of Fatima. The most reasonable Moslems were scandalised, that the mother of the faithful should expose in a camp her person and character; but the superstitious crowd was confident that her presence would sanctify the justice, and assure the success, of their cause. At the head of twenty thousand of his loyal Arabs, and nine thousand valiant auxiliaries of Cufa, the caliph encountered and defeated the superior numbers of the rebels under the walls of Bassora. Their leaders, Telha and Zobeir, were slain in the first battle that stained with civil blood the arms of the Moslems. After passing through the ranks to animate the troops, Ayesha had chosen her post amidst the dangers of the field. In the heat of the action, seventy men who held the bridle of her camel, were successively killed or wounded; and the cage or litter in which she sat, was stuck with javelins and darts like the quills of a porcupine. The venerable captive sustained with firmness the reproaches of the conqueror, and was speedily dismissed to her proper station, at the tomb of Mahomet, with the respect and tenderness that was still due to the widow of the apostle. After this victory, which was styled the Day of the Camel, Ali marched against a more formidable adversary; against Moawiyah, the son of Abu Sophian, who had assumed the title of caliph, and whose claim was supported by the forces of Syria and the interest of the house of the Ommiyah. From the passage of Thapsacus, the plain of Siffin* extends along the western bank of the Euphrates. On this spacious

* The plain of Siffin is determined by d'Anville (*l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 29.) to be the Campus Barbaricus of Procopius.

cious and level theatre, the two competitors waged a desultory war of one hundred and ten days. In the course of ninety actions or skirmishes, the loss of Ali was estimated at twenty-five, that of Moawiyah at forty-five, thousand soldiers; and the list of the slain was dignified with the names of five and twenty veterans who had fought at Beder under the standard of Mahomet. In this sanguinary contest, the lawful caliph displayed a superior character of valour and humanity. His troops were strictly enjoined to await the first onset of the enemy, to spare their flying brethren, and to respect the bodies of the dead, and the chastity of the female captives. He generously proposed to save the blood of the Moslems by a single combat; but his trembling rival declined the challenge as a sentence of inevitable death. The ranks of the Syrians were broken by the charge of a hero who was mounted on a pyebald horse, and wielded with irresistible force his ponderous and two-edged sword. As often as he smote a rebel, he shouted the Allah Acbar, "God is victorious;" and in the tumult of a nocturnal battle, he was heard to repeat four hundred times that tremendous exclamation. The prince of Damascus already meditated his flight, but the certain victory was snatched from the grasp of Ali by the disobedience and enthusiasm of his troops. Their conscience was awed by the solemn appeal to the books of the Koran which Moawiyah exposed on the foremost lances; and Ali was compelled to yield to a disgraceful truce and an insidious compromise. He retreated with sorrow and indignation to Cufa; his party was discouraged; the distant provinces

C H A P.
L.

C H A P. of Persia, of Yemen, and of Egypt, were subdued
L- or seduced by his crafty rival; and the stroke of fanaticism which, was aimed against the three chiefs of the nation, was fatal only to the cousin of Mahomet. In the temple of Mecca, three Charegites or enthusiasts discoursed of the disorders of the church and state: They soon agreed, that the deaths of Ali, of Moawiyah, and of his friend Amrou, the viceroy of Egypt, would restore the peace and unity of religion. Each of the assassins chose his victim, poisoned his dagger, devoted his life, and secretly repaired to the scene of action. Their resolution was equally desperate; but the first mistook the person of Amrou, and stabbed the deputy who occupied his seat; the prince of Damascus was dangerously hurt by the second; the lawful caliph in the mosch of Cufa, received a mortal wound from the hand of the third. He expired in the sixty-third year of his age, and mercifully recommended to his children, that they would dispatch the murderer by a single stroke. The sepulchre of Ali * was concealed from the tyrants of the house of Ommiyah †; but in the fourth age of the Hegira, a tomb, a temple, a city, arose near

* Abulfeda, a moderate Sonnite, relates the different opinions concerning the burial of Ali, but adopts the sepulchre of Cufa, hodie famâ numeroque religiose frequentantium celebratum. This number is reckoned by Niebuhr to amount annually to 2000 of the dead, and 5000 of the living; (tom. ii. p. 208, 209.)

† All the tyrants of Persia, from Adhad el Dowlat (A. D. 977, d'Herbelot, p. 58, 59. 95.) to Nadir Shah, (A. D. 1743, Hist. de Nadir Shah, tom. ii. p. 155.) have enriched the tomb of Ali with the spoils of the people. The dome is copper, with a bright and massy gilding, which glitters to the sun at the distance of many a mile.

near the ruins of Cufa *. Many thousands of the Schiites repose in holy ground at the feet of the vicar of God; and the desert is vivified by the numerous and annual visits of the Persians, who esteem their devotion not less meritorious than the pilgrimage of Mecca.

The persecutors of Mahomet usurped the inheritance of his children; and the champions of idolatry became the supreme heads of his religion and empire. The opposition of Abu Sophian had been fierce and obstinate; his conversion was tardy and reluctant; his new faith was fortified by necessity and interest; he served, he fought, perhaps he believed; and the sins of the time of ignorance were expiated by the recent merits of the family of Ommiyah. Moawiyah, the son of Abu Sophian, and of the cruel Henda, was dignified in his early youth with the office or title of secretary of the prophet; the judgment of Omar entrusted him with the government of Syria; and he administered that important province above forty years either in a subordinate or supreme rank. Without renouncing the fame of valour and liberality, he affected the reputation of humanity and moderation; a grateful people was attached to their benefactor; and the victorious Moslems were enriched with the spoils of Cyprus and Rhodes. The sacred duty of pursuing the assassins of Othman was the engine and pretence of his

CHAP.
L.
Reign of
Moawiyah,
A. D. 655,
or 661—
680.

Z 3

his

* The city of Meshed Ali, five or six miles from the ruins of Cufa, and one hundred and twenty to the south of Bagdad, is of the size and form of the modern Jerusalem. Meshed Hoscin, larger and more populous, is at the distance of thirty miles.

C H A P. his ambition. The bloody shirt of the martyr
L. was exposed in the mosch of Damascus; the emir
 { deplored the fate of his injured kinsman; and
 sixty thousand Syrians were engaged in his service
 by an oath of fidelity and revenge. Amrou, the
 conqueror of Egypt, himself an army, was the
 first who saluted the new monarch, and divulged
 the dangerous secret, that the Arabian caliphs
 might be created elsewhere than in the city of
 the prophet *. The policy of Moawiyah eluded
 the valour of his rival; and, after the death of Ali,
 he negotiated the abdication of his son Hassan,
 whose mind was either above or below the go-
 vernment of the world, and who retired without
 a sigh from the palace of Cufa to an humble cell
 near the tomb of his grandfather. The aspiring
 wishes of the caliph were finally crowned by the
 important change of an elective to an hereditary
 kingdom. Some murmurs of freedom or fana-
 ticism attested the reluctance of the Arabs, and
 four citizens of Medina refused the oath of fide-
 lity; but the designs of Moawiyah were conducted
 with vigour and address; and his son Yezid, a
 feeble and dissolute youth, was proclaimed as the
 commander of the faithful and the successor of
 the apostle of God.

Death of
 Hosein,
 A. D. 680.
 Oct. 10.

A familiar story is related of the benevolence of
 one of the sons of Ali. In serving at table, a slave
 had inadvertently dropt a dish of scalding broth on
 his master; the heedless wretch fell prostrate, to
 deprecate

* I borrow, on this occasion, the strong sense and expres-
 sion of Tacitus: (Hist. i. 4.) Evulgato imperii arcano posse
 imperatorem alibi quam Romæ fieri.

deprecate his punishment, and repeated a verse of the Koran: "Paradise is for those who command their anger;"—"I am not angry:"—"and for those who pardon offences:"—"I pardon your offence:"—"and for those who return good for evil:"—"I give you your liberty, and four hundred pieces of silver."—With an equal measure of piety, Hosein, the younger brother of Hassan, inherited a remnant of his father's spirit, and served with honour against the Christians in the siege of Constantinople. The primogeniture of the line of Hashem, and the holy character of grandson of the apostle, had centered in his person, and he was at liberty to prosecute his claim against Yezid the tyrant of Damascus, whose vices he despised, and whose title he had never deigned to acknowledge. A list was secretly transmitted from Cufa to Medina, of one hundred and forty thousand Moslems, who professed their attachment to his cause, and who were eager to draw their swords so soon as he should appear on the banks of the Euphrates. Against the advice of his wisest friends, he resolved to trust his person and family in the hands of a perfidious people. He traversed the desert of Arabia with a timorous retinue of women and children; but as he approached the confines of Irak, he was alarmed by the solitary or hostile face of the country, and suspected either the defection or ruin of his party. His fears were just; Obeidollah, the governor of Cufa, had extinguished the first sparks of an insurrection; and Hosein, in the plain of Kerbela, was encompassed by a body of five thousand

C H A P. horse, who intercepted his communication with the
L. city and the river. He might still have escaped to
a fortress in the desert, that had defied the power
of Caesar and Chosroes, and confided in the fidelity
of the tribe of Tai, which would have armed ten
thousand warriors in his defence. In a conference
with the chief of the enemy, he proposed the option
of three honourable conditions; that he should be
allowed to return to Medina, or be stationed in a
frontier garrison against the Turks, or safely
conducted to the presence of Yezid. But the commands
of the caliph, or his lieutenant, were stern and
absolute; and Hosein was informed that he must
either submit as a captive and a criminal to the
commander of the faithful, or expect the consequences
of his rebellion. "Do you think," replied he, "to
terrify me with death?" And, during the short
respite of a night, he prepared with calm and
solemn resignation to encounter his fate. He
checked the lamentations of his sister Fatima,
who deplored the impending ruin of his house.
"Our trust," said Hosein, "is in God alone. All
things, both in heaven and earth, must perish
and return to their Creator. My brother, my
father, my mother, were better than me; and
every Mussulman has an example in the prophet."
He pressed his friends to consult their safety
by a timely flight: they unanimously refused to
desert or survive their beloved master; and their
courage was fortified by a fervent prayer and the
assurance of paradise. On the morning of the
fatal day, he mounted on horseback, with his
sword in one hand and the

Koran

Koran in the other ; his generous band of martyrs consisted only of thirty-two horse and forty foot ; but their flanks and rear were secured by the tent-ropes, and by a deep trench which they had filled with lighted faggots, according to the practice of the Arabs. The enemy advanced with reluctance ; and one of their chiefs deserted, with thirty followers, to claim the partnership of inevitable death. In every close onset, or single combat, the despair of the Fatimites was invincible ; but the surrounding multitudes galled them from a distance with a cloud of arrows, and the horses and men were successively slain : a truce was allowed on both sides for the hour of prayer ; and the battle at length expired by the death of the last of the companions of Hosein. Alone, weary and wounded, he seated himself at the door of his tent. As he tasted a drop of water, he was pierced in the mouth with a dart ; and his son and nephew, two beautiful youths, were killed in his arms. He lifted his hands to heaven, they were full of blood, and he uttered a funeral prayer for the living and the dead. In a transport of despair his sister issued from the tent, and adjured the general of the Cufians, that he would not suffer Hosein to be murdered before his eyes : A tear trickled down his venerable beard ; and the boldest of his soldiers fell back on every side as the dying hero threw himself among them. The remorseless Shamer, a name detested by the faithful, reproached their cowardice ; and the grandson of Mahomet was slain with three and thirty strokes of lances and swords. After they had trampled

on

CHAP. on his body, they carried his head to the castle
 L. of Cufa, and the inhuman Obeidollah struck him
 on the mouth with a cane : “ Alas ! exclaimed an
 aged Mussulman, “ on these lips have I seen the
 “ lips of the apostle of God !” In a distant age
 and climate the tragic scene of the death of Hosein
 will awaken the sympathy of the coldest reader *.
 On the annual festival of his martyrdom, in the
 devout pilgrimage to his sepulchre, his Persian
 votaries abandon their souls to the religious frenzy
 of sorrow and indignation †.

Posterity
 of Maho-
 met and
 Ali.

When the sisters and children of Ali were
 brought in chains to the throne of Damascus, the
 caliph was advised to extirpate the enmity of a
 popular and hostile race, whom he had injured be-
 yond the hope of reconciliation. But Yezid pre-
 ferred the counsels of mercy ; and the mourning
 family was honourably dismissed to mingle their
 tears with their kindred at Medina. The glory of
 martyrdom superseded the right of primogeniture ;
 and the twelve IMAMS †, or pontiffs, of the Per-
 sian creed are Ali, Hassan, Hosein, and the lineal
 descendants of Hosein to the ninth generation.

Without

* I have abridged the interesting narrative of Ockley ; (tom. ii. p. 170—231.) It is long and minute ; but the pathetic, almost always, consists in the detail of little circumstances.

† Niebuhr the Dane (Voyages en Arabie, &c. tom. ii. p. 208, &c.) is perhaps the only European traveller who has dared to visit Meshed Ali and Meshed Hosein. The two sepulchres are in the hands of the Turks, who tolerate and tax the devotion of the Persian heretics. The festival of the death of Hosein is amply described by Sir John Chardin, a traveller whom I have often praised.

‡ The general article of *Imam*, in d’Herbelot’s *Bibliothèque*, will indicate the succession ; and the lives of the *twelve* are given under their respective names.

Without arms, or treasures, or subjects, they successively enjoyed the veneration of the people, and provoked the jealousy of the reigning caliphs; their tombs at Mecca or Medina, on the banks of the Euphrates, or in the province of Chorasán, are still visited by the devotion of their sect. Their names were often the pretence of sedition and civil war; but these royal saints despised the pomp of the world, submitted to the will of God and the injustice of man, and devoted their innocent lives to the study and practice of religion. The twelfth and last of the Imams, conspicuous by the title of *Mahadi*, or the Guide, surpassed the solitude and sanctity of his predecessors. He concealed himself in a cavern near Bagdad; the time and place of his death are unknown; and his votaries pretend that he still lives, and will appear before the day of judgment to overthrow the tyranny of Dejal, or the Antichrist *. In the lapse of two or three centuries the posterity of Abbas, the uncle of Mahomet, had multiplied to the number of thirty-three thousand †; the race of Ali might be equally prolific; the meanest individual was above the first and greatest of princes; and the most eminent were supposed to excel the perfection of angels. But their adverse fortune, and the wide extent of the Mussulman empire, allowed

* The name of *Antichrist* may seem ridiculous, but the Mahometans have liberally borrowed the fables of every religion. (Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 80. 82.) In the royal stable of Ispahan, two horses were always kept saddled, one for the Mahadi himself, the other for his lieutenant, Jesus the son of Mary.

† In the year of the Hegira 200. (A. D. 815.) See d'Herbelot, p. 546.

CHAP. lowed an ample scope for every bold and artful
 L. impostor, who claimed affinity with the holy seed;
 — the sceptre of the Almohades in Spain and Afric,
 of the Fatimites in Egypt and Syria *, of the
 Sultans of Yemen, and of the Sophis of Persia †,
 has been consecrated by this vague and ambiguous
 title. Under their reigns it might be dangerous to
 dispute the legitimacy of their birth; and one of
 the Fatimite caliphs silenced an indiscreet ques-
 tion, by drawing his scymetar: "This," said
 Moez, "is my pedigree; and these," casting an
 handful of gold to his soldiers, "and these are my
 "kindred and my children." In the various condi-
 tions of princes, or doctors, or nobles, or merchants,
 or beggars, a swarm of the genuine or fictitious de-
 scendants of Mahomet and Ali is honoured with
 the appellation of sheiks, or sherifs, or emirs. In
 the Ottoman empire, they are distinguished by a
 green turban, receive a stipend from the treasury,
 are judged only by their chief, and, however de-
 based

* D'Herbelot, p. 342. The enemies of the Fatimites disgraced them by a Jewish origin. Yet they accurately deduced their genealogy from Jaafar, the sixth Imam; and the impartial Abulfeda allows (Annal. Moslem. p. 230.) that they were owned by many, qui absque controversiâ genuini sunt Alidarum, homine propaginum suæ gentis exacte callentes. He quotes some lines from the celebrated *Sherif or Rahdi*, *Egone humilitatem induam in terris hostium?* (I suspect him to be an Edrissite of Sicily) *cum in Ægypto sit Chalifa de gente Alii, quocum ego communem habeo patrem et vindicem.*

† The kings of Persia of the last dynasty are descended from Sheik Sefi, a saint of the fourteenth century, and through him from Moussa Cassem, the son of Hosein, the son of Ali. (Olearius, p. 957. Chardin, tom. iii. p. 288.) But I cannot trace the intermediate degrees in any genuine or fabulous pedigree. If they were truly Fatimites, they might draw their origin from the princes of Mazanderan, who reigned in the ninth century. (d'Herbelot, p. 96.)

based by fortune or character, still assert the proud pre-eminence of their birth. A family of three hundred persons, the pure and orthodox branch of the caliph Hassan, is preserved without taint or suspicion in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and still retains, after the revolutions of twelve centuries, the custody of the temple and the sovereignty of their native land. The fame and merit of Mahomet would ennoble a plebeian race, and the ancient blood of the Koreish transcends the recent majesty of the kings of the earth *.

The talents of Mahomet are entitled to our applause, but his success has perhaps too strongly attracted our admiration. Are we surprised that a multitude of proselytes should embrace the doctrine and the passions of an eloquent fanatic? In the heresies of the church, the same seduction has been tried and repeated from the time of the apostles to that of the reformers. Does it seem incredible that a private citizen should grasp the sword and the sceptre, subdue his native country, and erect a monarchy by his victorious arms? In the moving picture of the dynasties of the East; an hundred fortunate usurpers have arisen from a baser origin, surmounted more formidable obstacles, and filled a larger scope of empire and conquest. Mahomet was alike instructed to preach and to fight, and the union of these opposite qualities,


* The present state of the family of Mahomet and Ali is most accurately described by Demetrius Cantemir, (*Hist. of the Othman Empire*, p. 94.) and Niebuhr, (*Description de l'Arabie*, p. 9—16. 317, &c.) It is much to be lamented, that the Danish traveller was unable to purchase the chronicles of Arabia.

C H A P. L. **litics, while it enhanced his merit, contributed to his success: The operation of force and persuasion, of enthusiasm and fear, continually acted on each other, till every barrier yielded to their irresistible power. His voice invited the Arabs to freedom and victory, to arms and rapine, to the indulgence of their darling passions in this world and the other; the restraints which he imposed were requisite to establish the credit of the prophet, and to exercise the obedience of the people; and the only objection to his success, was his rational creed of the unity and perfections of God. It is not the propagation but the permanency of his religion that deserves our wonder: The same pure and perfect impression which he engraved at Mecca and Medina, is preserved, after the revolutions of twelve centuries, by the Indian, the African, and the Turkish proselytes of the Koran. If the Christian apostles, St Peter or St Paul, could return to the Vatican, they might possibly inquire the name of the Deity who is worshipped with such mysterious rites in that magnificent temple: At Oxford or Geneva, they would experience less surprise; but it might still be incumbent on them to peruse the catechism of the church, and to study the orthodox commentators on their own writings and the words of their Master. But the Turkish dome of St Sophia, with an increase of splendour and size, represents the humble tabernacle erected at Medina by the hands of Mahomet. The Mahometans have uniformly withstood the temptation of reducing the object of their faith and devotion to a level with the**

Perma-
nency of
his reli-
gion.

the senses and imagination of man. "I believe C H A P.
 "in one God, and Mahomet the apostle of God," L.

is the simple and invariable profession of Islam. The intellectual image of the Deity has never been degraded by any visible idol: The honours of the prophet have never transgressed the measure of human virtue; and his living precepts have restrained the gratitude of his disciples within the bounds of reason and religion. The votaries of Ali have indeed consecrated the memory of their hero, his wife and his children, and some of the Persian doctors pretend that the divine essence was incarnate in the person of the Imams; but their superstition is universally condemned by the Sonnites; and their impiety has afforded a seasonable warning against the worship of saints and martyrs. The metaphysical questions on the attributes of God, and the liberty of man, have been agitated in the schools of the Mahometans, as well as in those of the Christians; but among the former they have never engaged the passions of the people or disturbed the tranquillity of the state. The cause of this important difference may be found in the separation or union of the regal and sacerdotal characters. It was the interest of the caliphs, the successors of the prophet and commanders of the faithful, to repress and discourage all religious innovations: The order, the discipline, the temporal and spiritual ambition of the clergy, are unknown to the Moslems; and the pages of the law are the guides of their conscience and the oracles of their faith. From the Atlantic to the Ganges, the Koran is acknowledged

C H A P. **L.**  ledged as the fundamental code, not only of theology but of civil and criminal jurisprudence ; and the laws which regulate the actions and the property of mankind, are guarded by the infallible and immutable sanction of the will of God. This religious servitude is attended with some practical disadvantage ; the illiterate legislator had been often misled by his own prejudices and those of his country ; and the institutions of the Arabian desert may be ill adapted to the wealth and numbers of Ispahan and Constantinople. On these occasions, the Cadhi respectfully places on his head the holy volume, and substitutes a dextrous interpretation more apposite to the principles of equity, and the manners and policy of the times.

His merit
towards
his coun-
try.

His beneficial or pernicious influence on the public happiness is the last consideration in the character of Mahomet. The most bitter or most bigotted of his Christian or Jewish foes, will surely allow that he assumed a false commission to inculcate a salutary doctrine, less perfect only than their own. He piously supposed, as the basis of his religion, the truth and sanctity of *their* prior revelations, the virtues and miracles of their founders. The idols of Arabia were broken before the throne of God ; the blood of human victims was expiated by prayer, and fasting, and alms, the laudable or innocent arts of devotion ; and his rewards and punishments of a future life were painted by the images most congenial to an ignorant and carnal generation. Mahomet was perhaps incapable of dictating a moral and political

C H A P.

L.

litical system for the use of his countrymen ; but he breathed among the faithful a spirit of charity and friendship, recommended the practice of the social virtues, and checked, by his laws and precepts, the thirst of revenge and the oppression of widows and orphans. The hostile tribes were united in faith and obedience, and the valour which had been idly spent in domestic quarrels, was vigorously directed against a foreign enemy. Had the impulse been less powerful, Arabia, free at home, and formidable abroad, might have flourished under a succession of her native monarchs. Her sovereignty was lost by the extent and rapidity of conquest. The colonies of the nation were scattered over the East and West, and their blood was mingled with the blood of their converts and captives. After the reign of three caliphs, the throne was transported from Medina to the valley of Damascus, and the banks of the Tigris ; the holy cities were violated by impious war ; Arabia was ruled by the rod of a subject, perhaps of a stranger ; and the Bedoweens of the desert, awakening from their dream of dominion, resumed their old and solitary independence*.

VOL. IX.

A a

CHAP.

* The writers of the Modern Universal History (vol. i. and ii.) have compiled, in 850 folio pages, the life of Mahomet and the annals of the caliphs. They enjoyed the advantage of reading, and sometimes correcting the Arabic text ; yet, notwithstanding their high-sounding boasts, I cannot find, after the conclusion of my work, that they have afforded me much (if any) additional information. The dull mass is not quickened by a spark of philosophy or taste ; and the compilers indulge the criticism of acrimonious bigotry against Boulainvilliers, Sale, Gagnier, and all who have treated Mahomet with favour, or even justice.

CHAP. LI.

The Conquest of Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, by the Arabs or Saracens.—Empire of the Caliphs, or Successors of Mahomet.—State of the Christians, &c. under their Government.

CHAP.
LI.

Union of
the Arabs,
A.D. 632.

THE revolution of Arabia had not changed the character of the Arabs: The death of Mahomet was the signal of independence; and the hasty structure of his power and religion tottered to its foundations. A small and faithful band of his primitive disciples had listened to his eloquence, and shared his distress; had fled with the apostle from the persecution of Mecca, or had received the fugitive in the walls of Medina. The increasing myriads, who acknowledged Mahomet as their king and prophet, had been compelled by his arms, or allured by his prosperity. The polytheists were confounded by the simple idea of a solitary and invisible God: The pride of the Christians and Jews disdained the yoke of a mortal and contemporary legislator. Their habits of faith and obedience were not sufficiently confirmed; and many of the new converts regretted the venerable antiquity of the law of Moses, or the rites and mysteries of the Catholic church, or the idols, the sacrifices, the joyous festivals, of their

their pagan ancestors. The jarring interests and hereditary feuds of the Arabian tribes had not yet coalesced in a system of union and subordination; and the Barbarians were impatient of the mildest and most salutary laws that curbed their passions, or violated their customs. They submitted with reluctance to the religious precepts of the Koran, the abstinence from wine, the fast of the Ramadan, and the daily repetition of five prayers; and the alms and tithes, which were collected for the treasury of Medina, could be distinguished only by a name from the payment of a perpetual and ignominious tribute. The example of Mahomet had excited a spirit of fanaticism or imposture, and several of his rivals presumed to imitate the conduct and defy the authority of the living prophet. At the head of the *fugitives* and *auxiliaries*, the first caliph was reduced to the cities of Mecca, Medina, and Tayef; and perhaps the Koreish would have restored the idols of the Caaba, if their levity had not been checked by a seasonable reproof. "Ye men of Mecca, will ye be the last to embrace, and the first to abandon the religion of Islam?" After exhorting the Moslems to confide in the aid of God and his apostle, Abubeker resolved, by a vigorous attack, to prevent the junction of the rebels. The women and children were safely lodged in the cavities of the mountains; The warriors, marching under eleven banners, diffused the terror of their arms; and the appearance of a military force, revived and confirmed the loyalty of the faithful. The inconstant tribes accepted, with

CHAP. humble repentance, the duties of prayer, and
 LI. fasting and alms; and, after some examples of
 success and severity, the most daring apostates fell
 prostrate before the sword of the Lord and of
 Caled. In the fertile province of Yemannah*,
 between the Red Sea and the Gulph of Persia, in
 a city not inferior to Medina itself, a powerful
 chief, his name was Moseilama, had assumed the
 character of a prophet, and the tribe of Hanifa
 listened to his voice. A female prophetess was
 attracted by his reputation: The decencies of
 words and actions were spurned by these favourites
 of heaven †; and they employed several days in
 mystic and amorous converse. An obscure sen-
 tence of his Koran, or book, is yet extant ‡; and,
 in

* See the description of the city and country of Al Yamanah, in Abulfeda, Descript. Arabiæ, p. 60, 61. In the xiiith century, there were some ruins, and a few palms, but in the present century, the same ground is occupied by the visions and arms of a modern prophet, whose tenets are imperfectly known, (Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie. p. 296—302.)

† Their first salutation may be transcribed, but cannot be translated. It was thus that Moseilama said or sung:

Surge tandem itaque strenue permolenda; nam stratus tibi
 thorus est.

Aut in propatulo tentorio si velis, aut in abditore cubiculo
 si malis;

Aut supinam te humi exporrectam fustigabo, si velis, aut si
 malis manibus pedibusque nixam.

Aui si velis ejus (*Priapi*) gemino triente, aut si malis totus
 veniam.

Imo, totus venito, O Apostole Dei clamabat femina. Id
 ipsum dicebat.

Moseilama mihi quoque suggestit Deus.

The prophetess Segjah, after the fall of her lover, returned to idolatry; but, under the reign of Moawiyah, she became a Mus-
 sulman, and died at Bassora, (Abulfeda, Annal. vers. Reiske, p.
 63.)

‡ See this text, which demonstrates a God from the works
 of generation, in Abulpharagius (Specimen Hist. Arabum, p.
 13. and Dynast. p. 103.) and Abulfeda, (Annal. p. 63.)

in the pride of his mission, Moseilama descended to offer a partition of the earth. The proposal was answered by Mahomet with contempt; but the rapid progress of the impostor awakened the fears of his successor: Forty thousand Moslems were assembled under the standard of Caled; and the existence of their faith was resigned to the event of a decisive battle. In the first action, they were repulsed with the loss of twelve hundred men; but the skill and perseverance of their general prevailed: Their defeat was avenged by the slaughter of ten thousand infidels; and Moseilama himself was pierced by an Ethiopian slave with the same javelin which had mortally wounded the uncle of Mahomet. The various rebels of Arabia, without a chief or a cause, were speedily suppressed by the power and discipline of the rising monarchy; and the whole nation again professed, and more stedfastly held, the religion of the Koran. The ambition of the caliphs provided an immediate exercise for the restless spirit of the Saracens: Their valour was united in the prosecution of an holy war; and their enthusiasm was equally confirmed by opposition and victory.

From the rapid conquests of the Saracens, a presumption will naturally arise, that the first caliphs commanded in person the armies of the faithful, and sought the crown of martyrdom in the foremost ranks of the battle. The courage of Abubeker*,

Character
of the
caliphs.

A a 3

Omar

* His reign in Eutychius, tom. ii. p. 251. Elmacin, p. 18. Abulpharagius, p. 108. Abulfeda, p. 60. D'Herbelot, p. 58.

CHAP. Omar *, and Othman †, had indeed been tried
 LI. in the persecution and wars of the prophet ; and
 the personal assurance of paradise must have
 taught them to despise the pleasures and dangers
 of the present world. But they ascended the
 throne in a venerable or mature age, and esteem-
 ed the domestic cares of religion and justice the
 most important duties of a sovereign. Except
 the presence of Omar at the siege of Jerusalem,
 the longest expeditions were the frequent pilgrim-
 age from Medina to Mecca ; and they calmly re-
 ceived the tidings of victory as they prayed or
 preached before the sepulchre of the prophet.
 The austere and frugal measure of their lives was
 the effect of virtue or habit, and the pride of their
 simplicity insulted the vain magnificence of the
 kings of the earth. When Abubeker assumed the
 office of caliph, he enjoined his daughter Ayesha
 to take a strict account of his private patrimony,
 that it might be evident whether he were enrich-
 ed or impoverished by the service of the state. He
 thought himself entitled to a stipend of three pieces
 of gold, with the sufficient maintenance of a single
 camel and a black slave ; but on the Friday of each
 week, he distributed the residue of his own and the
 public money, first to the most worthy, and then
 to the most indigent, of the Moslems. The remains
 of his wealth, a coarse garment, and five pieces of
 gold,

* His reign in Eutychius, p. 264. Elmacin, p. 24. Abulpharagius, p. 110. Abulfeda, p. 66. D'Herbelot, p. 686.

† His reign in Eutychius, p. 323. Elmacin, p. 36. Abulpharagius, p. 115. Abulfeda, p. 75. D'Herbelot, p. 695.

gold, were delivered to his successor, who lamented with a modest sigh his own inability to equal such an admirable model. Yet the abstinence and humility of Omar were not inferior to the virtues of Abubeker; his food consisted of barley-bread or dates; his drink was water; he preached in a gown that was torn or tattered in twelve places; and a Persian satrap who paid his homage to the conqueror, found him asleep among the beggars on the steps of the mosch of Medina. Economy is the source of liberality, and the increase of the revenue enabled Omar to establish a just and perpetual reward for the past and present services of the faithful. Careless of his own emolument, he assigned to Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, the first and most ample allowance of twenty-five thousand drams or pieces of silver. Five thousand were allotted to each of the aged warriors, the relics of the field of Beder, and the last and meanest of the companions of Mahomet was distinguished by the annual reward of three thousand pieces. One thousand was the stipend of the veterans who had fought in the first battles against the Greeks and Persians, and the decreasing pay, as low as fifty pieces of silver, was adapted to the respective merit and seniority of the soldiers of Omar. Under his reign, and that of his predecessor, the conquerors of the East were the trusty servants of God and the people; the mass of the public treasure was consecrated to the expences of peace and war; a prudent mixture of justice and bounty, maintained the discipline of

CHAP. the Saracens, and they united, by a rare felicity, LI. the dispatch and execution of despotism, with the equal and frugal maxims of a republican government. The heroic courage of Ali *, the consummate prudence of Moawiyah †, excited the emulation of their subjects; and the talents which had been exercised in the school of civil discord, were more usefully applied to propagate the faith and dominion of the prophet. In the sloth and vanity of the palace of Damascus, the succeeding princes of the house of Ommiyah were alike destitute of the qualifications of statesmen and of saints ‡. Yet the spoils of unknown nations were continually laid at the foot of their throne, and the uniform ascent of the Arabian greatness must be ascribed to the spirit of the nation rather than the abilities of their chiefs. A large deduction must be allowed for the weakness of their enemies. The birth of Mahomet was fortunately placed in the most degenerate and disorderly period of the Persians, the Romans, and the Barbarians of Europe: The empires of Trajan, or even of Constantine or Charlemagne, would have repelled the assault of the naked Saracens, and the torrent of fanaticism might have been obscurely lost in the sands of Arabia.

In

* His reign in Eutychius, p. 343. Elmacin, p. 51. Abulpharagius, p. 117. Abulfeda, p. 83. D'Herbelot, p. 89.

† His reign in Eutychius, p. 344. Elmacin, p. 54. Abulpharagius, p. 123. Abulfeda, p. 101. D'Herbelot, p. 586.

‡ Their reigns in Eutychius, tom. ii. p. 360—395. Elmacin, p. 59—108. Abulpharagius, Dynast. ix. p. 124—139. Abulfeda, p. 111—141. D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 691. and the particular article of the Ommiades.

In the victorious days of the Roman republic, C H A P. it had been the aim of the senate to confine their LI. consuls and legions to a single war, and completely to suppress a first enemy before they provoked the hostilities of a second. These timid maxims of policy were disdained by the magnanimity or enthusiasm of the Arabian caliphs. With the same vigour and success they invaded the successors of Augustus, and those of Artaxerxes; and the rival monarchies at the same instant became the prey of an enemy whom they had been so long accustomed to despise. In the ten years of the administration of Omar, the Saracens reduced to his obedience thirty-six thousand cities or castles, destroyed four thousand churches or temples of the unbelievers, and edified fourteen hundred moschs for the exercise of the religion of Mahomet. One hundred years after his flight from Mecca, the arms and the reign of his successors extended from India to the Atlantic Ocean, over the various and distant provinces, which may be comprised under the names of, I. Persia; II. Syria; III. Egypt; IV. Africa; and, V. Spain. Under this general division, I shall proceed to unfold these memorable transactions; dispatching, with brevity, the remote and less interesting conquests of the East, and reserving a fuller narrative for those domestic countries, which had been included within the pale of the Roman Empire. Yet I must excuse my own defects, by a just complaint of the blindness and insufficiency of my guides. The Greeks, so loquacious in controversy, have not been anxious

Their conquests.

to

CHAP. to celebrate the triumphs of their enemies*. After
 LI. a century of ignorance, the first annals of the Mus-
 sulmans were collected in a great measure from the
 voice of tradition †. Among the numerous pro-
 ductions of Arabic and Persian literature ‡, our in-
 terpreters have selected the imperfect sketches of a
 more

* For the seventh and eighth century, we have scarcely any original evidence of the Byzantine historians, except the Chronicles of Theophanes; (Theophanis Confessoris Chronographia, Gr. et Lat. cum notis Jacobi Goar. Paris, 1655, in folio;) and the Abridgment of Nicephorus, (Nicephori Patriarchæ C. P. Breviarum Historicum, Gr. et Lat. Paris, 1648, in folio,) who both lived in the beginning of the ninth century; (see Hancikus de Scriptor. Byzant. p. 200—246.) Their contemporary Photius does not seem to be more opulent. After praising the stile of Nicephorus, he adds, *Και ἰδὼς πολλὰς ἐν τοῖς περ αὐτῆ ἀπεκρυσσόμενος τὰς τῆς ἱστορίας, τῇ συντομίᾳ*, and only complains of his extreme brevity; (Phot. Bibliot. cod. lxvi. p. 100.) Some additions may be gleaned from the more recent histories of Cedrenus and Zonaras of the twelfth century.

† Tabari, or Al Tabari, a native of Taborestan, a famous Imam of Bagdad, and the Livy of the Arabians, finished his general history in the year of the Hegira 302, (A. D. 914.) At the request of his friends, he reduced a work of 30,000 sheets to a more reasonable size. But his Arabic original is known only by the Persian and Turkish versions. The Saracenic history of Ebn Amid, or Elmacin, is said to be an abridgment of the great Tabari; (Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. preface, p. xxxix. and, list of authors, d'Herbelot, p. 866. 870. 1014.)

‡ Besides the lists of authors framed by Prideaux, (Life of Mahomet, p. 179—189.) Ockley, (at the end of his second volume,) and Petit de la Croix, (Hist. de Gengiscan, p. 525—550.) we find in the Bibliotheque Orientale *Tarikh*, a catalogue of two or three hundred histories or chronicles of the East, of which not more than three or four are older than Tabari. A lively sketch of Oriental literature is given by Reiske, (in his Prodidagmata ad Hagji Chalifæ librum memorialem ad eadem Abulfedæ Tabulæ Syriæ, Lipsiæ, 1766;) but his project and the French version of Petit de la Croix (Hist. de Timur Bec tom. i. preface, p. xlv.) have fallen to the ground.

more recent age *. The art and genius of history C H A P.
have ever been unknown to the Asiatics †; they are LL.
ignorant of the laws of criticism; and our monkish
chronicles of the same period may be compared to
their most popular works, which are never vivified
by the spirit of philosophy and freedom. The
Oriental library of a Frenchman ‡ would instruct
the most learned mufti of the East; and perhaps
the Arabs might not find in a single historian, so
clear and comprehensive a narrative of their own
exploits,

* The particular historians and geographers will be occasionally introduced. The four following titles represent the annals, which have guided me in this general narrative, 1. *Annales Eutychii, Patriarchæ Alexandrini. ab Edwardo Pocockio, Oxon. 1656, 2 vols. in 4to.* A pompous edition of an indifferent author, translated by Pocock to gratify the Presbyterian prejudice of his friend Selden. 2. *Historia Saracenica Georgii Elmacini, opera et studio Thome Erpini, in 4to. Lugd. Batavorum, 1625.* He is said to have hastily translated a corrupt MS. and his version is often deficient in stile and sense. 3. *Historia compendiosa Dynastiæ a Gregorio Abulpharagio, interprete Edwardo Pocockio, in 4to. Oxon, 1663.* More useful for the literary than the civil history of the East. 4. *Abulfeda Annales Moslemici ad Ann. Hegira cccvii. u. Jo. Jac. Reiske, in 4to. Lipsiæ, 1754.* The best of our Chronicles, both for the original version, yet how far below the name of Abulfeda. We know that he wrote at Hamah, in the xivth century. The three former were Christians of the xth, xiith, and xiiith centuries; the two first, natives of Egypt; a Melchite, patriarch, and a Jacobite scribe.

† M. du Guignes (*Hist. des Huns, tom. i. pref. p. xix. xx.*) has characterised, with truth and knowledge, the two sorts of Arabian historians, the dry annalist, and the tumid and flowery orator.

‡ *Bibliothèque Orientale, par M. d'Herbelot, in folio, Paris, 1697.* For the character of the respectable author, consult his friend Thevenot; (*Voyages du Levant, part. i. chap. 1.*) His work is an agreeable miscellany, which must gratify every taste; but I never can digest the alphabetical order, and I find him more satisfactory in the Persian than the Arabic history. The recent supplement from the papers of M. M. Visdelou and Galland (*in folio, La Haye, 1779.*) is of a different cast, a medley of tales, proverbs, and Chinese antiquities.

CHAP. exploits, as that which will be deduced in the ensuing sheets.

LI.
 Invasion
 of Persia,
 A. D. 632.

I. In the first year of the first caliph, his lieutenant Caled, the sword of God, and the scourge of the infidels, advanced to the banks of the Euphrates, and reduced the cities of Anbar, and Hira. Westward of the ruins of Babylon, a tribe of sedentary Arabs had fixed themselves on the verge of the desert; and Hira was the seat of a race of kings who had embraced the Christian religion, and reigned above six hundred years under the shadow of the throne of Persia *. The last of the Mon-dars was defeated and slain by Caled; his son was sent a captive to Medina; his nobles bowed before the successor of the prophet: The people was tempted by the example and success of their countrymen: And the caliph accepted as the first fruits of foreign conquest, an annual tribute of seventy thousand pieces of gold. The conquerors, and even their historians, were astonished by the dawn of their future greatness: "In the same year," says "Elmacin, Caled fought many signal battles; an "immense multitude of infidels was slaughtered; "and spoils, infinite and innumerable, were acquired by the victorious Moslems†." But the invincible

* Pocock will explain the chronology, (*Specimen Hist. Arabum*, p. 66—74.) and d'Anville the geography, (*l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 125.) of the dynasty of the Almondars. The English scholar understood more Arabic than the Mufti of Aleppo; (*Ockley*, vol. ii. p. 34.) the French geographer is equally at home in every age and every climate of the world.

† Fecit et Chaled, plurima in hoc anno prœlia, in quibus vicerunt Muslimi, et infidelium immensâ multitudine occisa spolia infinita

invincible Caled was soon transferred to the Syrian war: The invasion of the Persian frontier was conducted by less active, or less prudent, commanders: The Saracens were repulsed with loss in the passage of the Euphrates; and, though they chastised the insolent pursuit of the Magians, their remaining forces still hovered in the desert of Babylon.

The indignation and fears of the Persians suspended for a moment their intestine divisions. By the unanimous sentence of the priests and nobles, their queen Arzema was deposed; the sixth of the transient usurpers, who had arisen and vanished in three or four years, since the death of Chosroes and the retreat of Heraclius. Her tiara was placed on the head of Yezdegerd, the grandson of Chosroes; and the same æra, which coincides with an astronomical period *, has recorded the fall of the Sassanian dynasty and the religion of Zoroaster†. The youth

Battle of
Cadesia,
A. D. 636.

infinita et innumera sunt nacti, (Hist. Saracénica, p. 20.) The Christian annalist slides into the national and compendious term of *infidels*, and I often adopt (I hope without scandal) this characteristic mode of expression.

* A cycle of 120 years, the end of which an intercalary month of 30 days supplied the use of our Bissextile, and restored the integrity of the solary ear. In a great revolution of 1440 years, this intercalation was successively removed from the first to the twelfth month; but Hyde and Freret are involved in a profound controversy, whether the twelve, or only eight of these changes were accomplished before the æra of Yezdegerd, which is unanimously fixed to the 16th of June, A. D. 632. How laboriously does the curious spirit of Europe explore the darkest and most distant antiquities! (Hyde, de Religione Persarum, c. 14.—18. p. 181—211. Freret in the Mem. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvi. p. 233—267.)

† Nine days after the death of Mahomet, (7th June A. D. 632,) we find the æra of Yezdegerd (16th June A. D. 632.) and his accession cannot be postponed beyond the end of the first year. His predecessors could not therefore resist the arms of the caliph Omar, and these unquestionable dates overthrow the thoughtless chronology of Abulpharagius. See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 130.

CHAP. youth and inexperience of the prince, he was only
 LI. fifteen years of age, declined a perilous encounter;
 the royal standard was delivered into the hands of
 his general Rustam; and a remnant of thirty thousand regular troops was swelled in truth, or in opinion, to one hundred and twenty thousand subjects, or allies, of the great king. The Moslems, whose numbers were reinforced from twelve to thirty thousand, had pitched their camp in the plains of Cadesia*; and their line, though it consisted of fewer *men*, could produce more *soldiers* than the unwieldy host of the infidels. I shall here observe what I must often repeat, that the charge of the Arabs was not like that of the Greeks and Romans, the effort of a firm and compact infantry: Their military force was chiefly formed of cavalry and archers; and the engagement, which was often interrupted and often renewed by single combats and flying skirmishes, might be protracted without any decisive event to the continuance of several days. The periods of the battle of Cadesia were distinguished by their peculiar appellations. The first, from the well-timed appearance of six thousand of the Syrian brethren, was denominated the day of *succour*. The day of *concussion* might express the disorder of one, or perhaps of both, of the contending armies. The third, a nocturnal tumult, received the whimsical name of the night of *barking*, from the discordant clamours, which were compared

* Cadesia, says the Nubian geographer, (p. 121.) is in marine solitude, 61 leagues from Bagdad, and two stations from Cufa. Otter (*Voyage*, tom. i. p. 163.) reckons 15 leagues, and observes, that the place is supplied with dates and water.

pared to the inarticulate sounds of the fiercest animals. The morning of the succeeding day determined the fate of Persia; and a seasonable whirlwind drove a cloud of dust against the faces of the unbelievers. The clangor of arms was re-echoed to the tent of Rustam, who, far unlike the ancient hero of his name, was gently reclining in a cool and tranquil shade, amidst the baggage of his camp, and the train of mules that were laden with gold and silver. On the sound of danger he started from his couch; but his flight was overtaken by a valiant Arab, who caught him by the foot, struck off his head, hoisted it on a lance, and instantly returning to the field of battle, carried slaughter and dismay among the thickest ranks of the Persians. The Saracens confess a loss of seven thousand five hundred men; and the battle of Cadesia is justly described by the epithets of obstinate and atrocious *. The standard of the monarchy was overthrown and captured in the field—a leathern apron of a blacksmith, who, in ancient times, had arisen the deliverer of Persia; but this badge of heroic poverty was disguised, and almost concealed by a profusion of precious gems †. After this victory, the wealthy province of Irak or Assyria submitted to the caliph, and his conquests were firmly established by the speedy foundation of Bassora ‡, a place

* *Atrox, contumax, plus semel renovatum*, are the well-chosen expressions of the translator of Abulfeda, (Reiske, p. 69.)

† D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 297. 348.

‡ The reader may satisfy himself on the subject of Bassora, by consulting the following writers: *Geograph. Nubiens.* p. 121.

C H A P. place which ever commands the trade and navigation of the Persians. At the distance of fourscore miles from the Gulf, the Euphrates and Tigris unite in a broad and direct current, which is aptly stiled the river of the Arabs. In the mid-way, between the junction and the mouth of these famous streams, the new settlement was planted on the western bank; the first colony was composed of eight hundred Moslems; but the influence of the situation soon reared a flourishing and populous capital. The air, though excessively hot, is pure and healthy; the meadows are filled with palm-trees and cattle; and one of the adjacent vallies has been celebrated among the four paradises or gardens of Asia. Under the first caliphs, the jurisdiction of this Arabian colony extended over the southern provinces of Persia; the city has been sanctified by the tombs of the companions and martyrs; and the vessels of Europe still frequent the port of Bassora, as a convenient station and passage of the Indian trade.

**Founda-
tion of
Bassora.**

**Sack of
Mada'yn,
A. D. 637.
March.**

After the defeat of Cadesia, a country intersected by rivers and canals might have opposed an insuperable barrier to the victorious cavalry; and the walls of Ctesiphon or Mada'yn, which had resisted the battering rams of the Romans, would not have yielded to the darts of the Saracens. But the flying Persians were overcome by the belief, that the last day of their religion and empire was at hand; the

121. D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 192. D'Anville, *l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 130. 133. 145. Raynal, *Hist. Philosophique des deux Indes*, tom. ii. p. 92—100. *Voyages* di Pietro della Valle, tom. iv. p. 370—391. De Tavernier, tom. i. p. 240—247. De Thevenot, tom. ii. p. 545—584. D'Otter, tom. ii. p. 45—78. De Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 172—199.

the strongest posts were abandoned by treachery or cowardice; and the king, with a part of his family and treasures, escaped to Holwan at the foot of the Median hills. In the third month after the battle, Said, the lieutenant of Omar, passed the Tigris without opposition; the capital was taken by assault; and the disorderly resistance of the people gave a keener edge to the sabres of the Moslems, who shouted with religious transport, "This is the white palace of Chosroes, this is the promise of the apostle of God!" The naked robbers of the desert were suddenly enriched beyond the measure of their hope or knowledge. Each chamber revealed a new treasure secreted with art, or ostentatiously displayed; the gold and silver, the various wardrobes and precious furniture, surpassed (says Abulfeda) the estimate of fancy or numbers; and another historian defines the untold and almost infinite mass, by the fabulous computation of three thousands of thousands of thousands of pieces of gold*. Some minute though curious facts represent the contrast of riches and ignorance. From the remote islands of the Indian Ocean, a large provision of camphire† had been imported, which

C H A P.

LI.

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B b

is

* *Mente vix potest numerove comprehendi quanta spolia nostris cesserint.* Abulfeda, p. 69. Yet I still suspect, that the extravagant numbers of Elmacin may be the error, not of the text, but of the version. The best translators from the Greek, for instance, I find to be very poor arithmeticians.

† The camphire tree grows in China and Japan, but many hundred weight of those meaner sorts are exchanged for a single pound of the more precious gum of Borneo and Sumatra, (Raynal, *Hist. Philosoph.* tom. i. p. 362—365. *Dictionnaire d'Hist. Naturelle* par Bomare. Millar's *Gardener's Dictionary*.) These may be the islands of the first climate from whence the Arabians imported their camphire, (*Geograph. Nub.* p. 34, 35. d'Herbelot, p. 232.)

CHAP. is employed with a mixture of wax to illuminate
 LI. the palaces of the East. Strangers to the name
 and properties of that odoriferous gum, the Saracens mistaking it for salt, mingled the camphire in their bread, and were astonished at the bitterness of the taste. One of the apartments of the palace was decorated with a carpet of silk, sixty cubits in length, and as many in breadth; a paradise or garden was depicted on the ground; the flowers, fruits, and shrubs, were imitated by the figures of the gold embroidery, and the colours of the precious stones; and the ample square was encircled by a variegated and verdant border. The Arabian general persuaded his soldiers to relinquish their claim, in the reasonable hope that the eyes of the caliph would be delighted with the splendid workmanship of nature and industry. Regardless of the merit of art and the pomp of royalty, the rigid Omar divided the prize among his brethren of Medina; the picture was destroyed; but such was the intrinsic value of the materials, that the share of Ali alone was sold for twenty thousand drams. A mule that carried away the tiara and cuirass, the belt and bracelets of Chosroes, was overtaken by the pursuers; the gorgeous trophy was presented to the commander of the faithful, and the gravest of the companions condescended to smile when they beheld the white beard, hairy arms, and uncouth figure of the veteran, who was invested with the spoils of the great king*. The sack of Ctesiphon was followed by its desertion and gradual

* See Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 376, 377. I may credit the fact, without believing the prophecy.

dual decay. The Saracens disliked the air and situation of the place ; and Omar was advised by his general to remove the seat of government to the western side of the Euphrates. In every age, the foundation and ruin of the Assyrian cities has been easy and rapid ; the country is destitute of stone and timber, and the most solid structures * are composed of bricks baked in the sun, and joined by a cement of the native bitumen. The name of *Cufa* † describes an habitation of reeds and earth ; but the importance of the new capital was supported by the numbers, wealth, and spirit, of a colony of veterans ; and their licentiousness was indulged by the wisest caliphs, who were apprehensive of provoking the revolt of an hundred thousand swords : “ Ye men of Cufa,” said Ali, who solicited their aid, “ you have been always conspicuous by your valour. You conquered the Persian king, and scattered his forces, till you had taken possession of his inheritance.” This mighty conquest was atchieved by the battles of Jalula and Nehavend. After the loss of the former, Yezdegerd fled from Holwan, and concealed his shame and despair in the mountains of Farsistan, from whence Cyrus had descended with his equal and valiant companions. The courage of the na-

CHAP.
LI.
Foundation of
Cufa.

B b 2

tion

* The most considerable ruins of Assyria are the tower of Belus, at Babylon, and the hall of Chosroës, at Ctesiphon : They have been visited by that vain and curious traveller Pietro della Valle ; (tom. i. p. 713—718. 731—735.)

† Consult the article of *Coufab* in the Bibliotheque of d’Herbelot, (p. 277, 278.) and the second volume of Ockley’s History, particularly p. 40. and 153.

CHAP. tion survived that of the monarch; among the
 II. hills to the south of Ecbatana or Hamadan, one
 hundred and fifty thousand Persians made a third
 and final stand for their religion and country; and
 the decisive battle of Nehavend was stiled by the
 Arabs the victory of victories. If it be true that
 the flying general of the Persians was stopped and
 overtaken in a crowd of mules and camels laden
 with honey, the incident, however slight or singular,
 will denote the luxurious impediments of
 an Oriental army*.

Conquest
 of Persia,
 A. D.
 637—651.

The geography of Persia is darkly delineated
 by the Greeks and Latins; but the most illustrious
 of her cities appear to be more ancient than the
 invasion of the Arabs. By the reduction of Hamadan
 and Ispahan, of Caswin, Tauris, and Rei, they gradually
 approached the shores of the Caspian Sea; and the orators
 of Mecca might applaud the success and spirit of the
 faithful, who had already lost sight of the northern bear,
 and had almost transcended the bounds of the habitable
 world†. Again turning towards the West and the Roman
 empire, they repassed the Tigris over the bridge of Mosul,
 and, in the captive provinces of

Armenia

* See the article of *Nehavend*, in d'Herteflot, p. 667, 668.
 and *Voyages en Turquie et en Perse*, par Otter, tom. i. p. 191.

† It is in such a stile of ignorance and wonder that the
 Athenian orator describes the Arctic conquests of Alexander,
 who never advanced beyond the shores of the Caspian, *Αλέξανδρος
 ἐν τῇ ἀρκτῇ καὶ τῇ οὐκ ἐκείνῃ, οὐρανῷ, πᾶσι μετέστη.*
Eschines contra Ctesiphontem, tom. iii. p. 554. edit. Græc.
 Orator. Reiske. This memorable cause was pleaded at Athens,
 Olymp. cxij. 3. (before Christ 330,) in the autumn, (Taylor,
præfat. p. 370, &c.) about a year after the battle of Arbela;
 and Alexander, in the pursuit of Darius, was marching towards
 Hyrcania and Bactriana.

Armenia and Mesopotamia; embraced their victorious brethren of the Syrian army. From the palace of Madayn their Eastern progress was not less rapid or extensive. They advanced along the Tigris and the Gulf; penetrated through the passes of the mountains into the valley of Estachar or Persepolis; and profaned the last sanctuary of the Magian empire. The grandson of Chosroës was nearly surprised among the falling columns and mutilated figures; a sad emblem of the past and present fortune of Persia*: He fled with accelerated haste over the desert of Kirman, implored the aid of the warlike Segestans, and sought an humble refuge on the verge of the Turkish and Chinese power. But a victorious army is insensible of fatigue; the Arabs divided their forces in the pursuit of a timorous enemy; and the caliph Othman promised the government of Chorasán to the first general who should enter that large and populous country, the kingdom of the ancient Bactrians. The condition was accepted; the prize was deserved; the standard of Mahomet was planted on the walls of Herat, Merou, and Balch; and the successful leader neither halted nor reposed till his foaming cavalry had tasted the waters of the Oxus. In the public anarchy, the independent governors of the cities and castles obtained their separate capitulations; the terms were granted or imposed by the esteem, the

B b 3

prudence,

* We are indebted for this curious particular to the Dynasties of Abulpharagius, p. 116.; but it is needless to prove the identity of Estachar and Persepolis; (d'Herbelot, p. 327.) and still more needless to copy the drawings and descriptions of Sir John Chardin, or Cornille le Bruyn.

C H A P. prudence, or the compassion, of the victors ; and a
 LI. simple profession of faith established the distinction
 between a brother and a slave. After a noble defence, Harmozan, the prince or satrap of Ahwaz and Sufa, was compelled to surrender his person and his state to the discretion of the caliph ; and their interview exhibits a portrait of the Arabian manners. In the presence, and by the command of Omar, the gay Barbarian was despoiled of his silken robes, embroidered with gold, and of his tiara, bedecked with rubies and emeralds. " Are you now sensible," said the conqueror to his naked captive ; " are you now sensible of the judgment of God, and of the different rewards of infidelity and obedience ?" " Alas !" replied Harmozan, " I feel them too deeply. In the days of our common ignorance, we fought with the weapons of the flesh, and my nation was superior. God was then neuter : Since he has espoused your quarrel, you have subverted our kingdom and religion." Oppressed by this painful dialogue, the Persian complained of intolerable thirst, but discovered some apprehensions lest he should be killed whilst he was drinking a cup of water. " Be of good courage," said the caliph, " your life is safe till you have drank this water." The crafty satrap accepted the assurance, and instantly dashed the vase against the ground. Omar would have avenged the deceit ; but his companions represented the sanctity of an oath ; and the speedy conversion of Harmozan entitled him not only to a free pardon, but even to a stipend of two thousand pieces of gold. The administration

tion of Persia was regulated by an actual survey of the people, the cattle, and the fruits of the earth * ; and this monument, which attests the vigilance of the caliphs, might have instructed the philosophers of every age †.

The flight of Yezdegerd had carried him beyond the Oxus, and as far as the Jaxartes, two rivers ‡ of ancient and modern renown, which descend from the mountains of India towards the Caspian Sea. He was hospitably entertained by Tarkhan, prince of Fargana §, a fertile province on the Jaxartes ; the king of Samarcand, with the Turkish tribes of Sogdiana and Scythia, were moved by the lamentations and promises of the fallen monarch ; and he solicited, by a suppliant embassy, the more solid and powerful friendship of the emperor of China ||. The virtuous Tait-
G H A P.
LI.
Death of
the last
king,
A. D. 651.
B b 4 song,

* After the conquest of Persia, Theophanes adds, *αὐτῶν δὲ τὰ χρόνια καλεῖσθαι Οὐμαροῦ ἀναγγελλομένης πάσαι τὰν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀκμαιομένη. γινώσκοντες δὲ ἡ ἀναγραφὴ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνῃ καὶ κτηνῇ καὶ φυτῇ,* (Chronograph. p. 283.)

† Amidst our meagre relations, I must regret, that d'Herbelot has not found and used a Persian translation of Tabari, enriched, as he says, with many extracts from the native historians of the Ghebers or Magi, (Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 1014.)

‡ The most authentic accounts of the two rivers, the Sihon (Jaxartes) and the Gihon, (Oxus,) may be found in Sherif al Edrisi, (Geograph. Nubiens. p. 138.) Abulfeda, (Descript. Chorasani. in Hudson, tom. iii. p. 23.) Abulghazi Khan, who reigned on their banks, (Hist. Genealogique des Tatars, p. 32. 57. 766.) and the Turkish Geographer, a MS. in the king of France's library, (Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, p. 194—360.)

§ The territory of Fargana is described by Abulfeda, p. 76, 77.

|| *Eo redegit angustiarum eundem regem exulem, ut Turcici regis, et Sogdiani, et Sinensis, auxilia missis literis imploraret*
Abulfed.

CHAP. song *, the first of the dynasty of the Tang, may be justly compared with the Antonines of Rome; his people enjoyed the blessings of prosperity and peace; and his dominion was acknowledged by forty-four hords of the Barbarians of Tartary. His last garrisons of Cashgar and Khoten maintained a frequent intercourse with their neighbours of the Jaxartes and Oxus; a recent colony of Persians had introduced into China the astronomy of the Magi; and Taitsong might be alarmed by the rapid progress and dangerous vicinity of the Arabs. The influence, and perhaps the supplies, of China, revived the hopes of Yezdegerd and the zeal of the worshippers of fire; and he returned with an army of Turks to conquer the inheritance of his fathers. The fortunate Moslems, without unsheathing their swords, were the spectators of his ruin and death. The grandson of Chosroes was betrayed by his servant, insulted by the seditious inhabitants of Merou, and oppressed, defeated, and pursued, by his Barbarian allies. He reached the banks of a river, and offered his rings and bracelets for an instant passage in a miller's boat. Ignorant or insensible of royal distress, the rustic replied, that four drams of silver were the daily profit of his mill, and that he would not suspend

Abulfed. Annal. p. 74.) The connection of the Persian and Chinese history is illustrated by Freret, (Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xvii. p. 245—255.) and de Guignes. (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 54—59. and for the Geography of the borders, tom. ii. p. 11—43.)

* Hist. Sinica, p. 41—46; in the third part of the Relations Curieuses of Thevenot.

pend his work unless the loss were repaid. In this moment of hesitation and delay, the last of the Sassanian kings was overtaken and slaughtered by the Turkish cavalry, in the nineteenth year of his unhappy reign*. His son Firuz, an humble client of the Chinese emperor, accepted the station of captain of his guards; and the Magian worship was long preserved by a colony of loyal exiles in the province of Bucharia. His grandson inherited the regal name; but after a faint and fruitless enterprise, he returned to China, and ended his days in the palace of Sigan. The male line of the Sassanides was extinct; but the female captives, the daughters of Persia, were given to the conquerors in servitude, or marriage; and the race of the caliphs and imams was ennobled by the blood of their royal mothers †.

After the fall of the Persian kingdom, the river Oxus divided the territories of the Saracens and of the Turks. This narrow boundary was soon overleaped by the spirit of the Arabs; the governors of Chorasán extended their successive inroads; and one of their triumphs was adorned with the buskin of a Turkish queen, which she dropped in her precipitate

The conquest of Transoxiana, A. D. 710.

* I have endeavoured to harmonize the various narratives of Elmacin, (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 37.) Abulpharagius, (*Dynast.* p. 116.) Abulfeda, (*Annal.* p. 74. 79.) and d'Herbelot, (p. 485.) The end of Yezdegerd was not only unfortunate but obscure.

† The two daughters of Yezdegerd married Hassan, the son of Ali, and Mohammed, the son of Abubeker; and the first of these was the father of a numerous progeny. The daughter of Phirouz became the wife of the caliph Walid, and their son Yezid derived his genuine or fabulous descent from the Chosroes of Persia, the Cæsars of Rome, and the Chagans of the Turks or Avars, (d'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orientale*, p. 96. 487.)

C H A P. cipitate flight beyond the hills of Bochara *. But
 LI. the final conquest of Transoxiana †, as well as of
 { Spain, was reserved for the glorious reign of the
 inactive Walid ; and the name of Catibah, the
 camel-driver, declares the origin and merit of his
 successful lieutenant. While one of his colleagues
 displayed the first Mahometan banner on the banks
 of the Indus, the spacious regions between the
 Oxus, the Jaxartes, and the Caspian Sea, were
 reduced by the arms of Catibah to the obedience
 of the prophet and of the caliph ‡. A tribute of
 two millions of pieces of gold was imposed on the
 infidels ; their idols were burnt or broken ; the
 Mussulman chief pronounced a sermon in the new
 mosch of Carizme ; after several battles, the
 Turkish hords were driven back to the desert ;
 and the emperors of China solicited the friendship
 of the victorious Arabs. To their industry, the
 prosperity of the province, the Sogdiana of the
 ancients, may in a great measure be ascribed ;
 but

* It was valued at 2000 pieces of gold, and was the prize of Obeidollah the son of Ziyad, a name afterwards infamous by the murder of Hosein, (Ockley's History of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 142, 143.) His brother Salem was accompanied by his wife, the first Arabian woman (A. D. 680.) who passed the Oxus ; she borrowed, or rather stole, the crown and jewels of the princess of the Sogdians, (p. 231, 232.)

† A part of Abulfeda's Geography is translated by Greaves, inserted in Hudson's collection of the minor Geographers, (tom. iii.) and entitled, Descriptio Chorasmix et *Mawaralnabre*, id est, regionum extra fluvium, Oxum, p. 80. The name of *Trans-oxiana*, softer in sound, equivalent in sense, is aptly used by Petit de la Croix, (Hist. de Gengiscan, &c.) and some modern Orientalists, but they are mistaken in ascribing it to the writers of antiquity.

‡ The conquests of Catibah are faintly marked by Elmacin, (Hist. Saracen. p. 84.) d'Herbelot, (Bibliot. Orient. *Catibah*, *Samarcand Validi*.) and de Guignes, (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 58, 59.)

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but the advantages of the soil and climate had been understood and cultivated since the reign of the Macedonian kings. Before the invasion of the Saracens, Carizme, Bocata, and Samarcand, were rich and populous under the yoke of the shepherds of the north. These cities were surrounded with a double wall; and the exterior fortification, of a larger circumference, inclosed the fields and gardens of the adjacent district. The mutual wants of India and Europe were supplied by the diligence of the Sogdian merchants; and the inestimable art of transforming linen into paper has been diffused from the manufacture of Samarcand over the western world *.

Invasion
of SYRIA,
A. D. 632.

II. No sooner had Abubeker restored the unity of faith and government, than he dispatched a circular letter to the Arabian tribes. "In the name of the most merciful God, to the rest of the true believers. Health and happiness, and the mercy and blessing of God be upon you. I praise the most high God, and I pray for his prophet Mahomet. This is to acquaint you, that I intend to send the true believers into Syria †

" to

* A curious description of Samarcand is inserted in the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, tom. i. p. 208, &c. The librarian Casiri (tom. ii. 9.) relates, from credible testimony, that paper was first imported from China to Samarcand, A. H. 30, and *invented*, or rather introduced, at Mecca, A. H. 88. The Escorial library contains paper MSS. as old as the fourth or fifth century of the Hegira.

† A separate history of the conquest of Syria has been composed by Al Wakidi, cadi of Bagdad, who was born A. D. 748, and died A. D. 822; he likewise wrote the conquest of Egypt, of Diarbekir, &c. Above the meagre and recent chronicles of the Arabians, Al Wakidi has the double merit of antiquity and copiousness. His tales and traditions afford an artless

CHAP. "to take it out of the hands of the infidels." And

II. "I would have you know, that the fighting for religion is an act of obedience to God." His messengers returned with the tidings of pious and martial ardour, which they had kindled in every province; and the camp of Medinā was successively filled with the intrepid bands of the Saracens, who panted for action, complained of the heat of the season, and the scarcity of provisions; and accused, with impatient murmurs, the delays of the caliph. As soon as their numbers were complete, Abubeker ascended the hill, reviewed the men, the horses, and the arms, and poured forth a fervent prayer for the success of their undertaking. In person and on foot, he accompanied the first day's march; and when the blushing leaders attempted to dismount, the caliph removed their scruples by a declaration, that those who rode, and those who walked, in the service of religion, were equally meritorious. His instructions * to the chiefs of the Syrian army were inspired by the warlike fanaticism which advances to seize, and affects to despise, the objects of earthly ambition. "Remember,"

less picture of the men and the times. Yet his narrative is too often defective, trifling, and improbable. Till something better shall be found, his learned and spirited interpreter (Ockley, in his *History of the Saracens*, vol. i. p. 21—342.) will not deserve the petulant animadversion of Reiske; (*Prodidagmata ad Hagji Chalifæ Tabulas*, p. 236.) I am sorry to think that the labours of Ockley were consummated in a jail; (see his two prefaces to the first vol. A. D. 1708, to the second, 1718, with the list of authors at the end.)

* The instructions, &c. of the Syrian war, are described by Al Wakidi and Ockley, tom. i. p. 22—27, &c. In the sequel it is necessary to contract, and needless to quote, their circumstantial narrative. My obligations to others shall be noticed.

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“member,” said the successor of the prophet, “that you are always in the presence of God, on the verge of death, in the assurance of judgment, and the hope of paradise. Avoid injustice and oppression; consult with your brethren, and study to preserve the love and confidence of your troops. When you fight the battles of the Lord, acquit yourselves like men, without turning your backs; but let not your victory be stained with the blood of women or children. Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat. When you make any covenant or article, stand to it, and be as good as your word. As you go on, you will find some religious persons who live retired in monasteries, and propose to themselves to serve God that way: Let them alone, and neither kill them nor destroy their monasteries*. And you will find another sort of people that belong to the synagogue of Satan, who have shaven crowns†; be sure you cleave their skulls, and give them no quarter, till they either turn Mahometans or pay tribute.”

* Notwithstanding this precept, M. Pauw (*Recherches sur les Egyptiens*, tom. ii. p. 192. edit. Lausanne) represents the Bedoweens as the implacable enemies of the Christian monks. For my own part, I am more inclined to suspect the avarice of the Arabian robbers, and the prejudices of the German philosopher.

† Even in the seventh century, the monks were generally laymen; they wore their hair long and dishevelled, and shaved their heads when they were ordained priests. The circular tonsure was sacred and mysterious; it was the crown of thorns; but it was likewise a royal diadem, and every priest was a king, &c. (Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 721—758, especially p. 737, 738.)

CHAP. "bute." All profane or frivolous conversation ;
 LL. all dangerous recollection of ancient quarrels, was
 severely prohibited among the Arabs ; in the tumult of a camp, the exercises of religion were assiduously practised ; and the intervals of action were employed in prayer, meditation, and the study of the Koran. The abuse, or even the use of wine, was chastised by fourscore strokes on the soles of the feet ; and in the fervour of their primitive zeal, many secret sinners revealed their fault, and solicited their punishment. After some hesitation, the command of the Syrian army was delegated to Abu Obeidah, one of the fugitives of Mecca, and companions of Mahomet ; whose zeal and devotion were assuaged, without being abated, by the singular mildness and benevolence of his temper. But in all the emergencies of war, the soldiers demanded the superior genius of Caled ; and whoever might be the choice of the prince, the *sword of God* was both in fact and fame the foremost leader of the Saracens. He obeyed without reluctance ; he was consulted without jealousy ; and such was the spirit of the man, or rather of the times, that Caled professed his readiness to serve under the banner of the faith, though it were in the hands of a child or an enemy. Glory, and riches, and dominion, were indeed promised to the victorious Mussulman ; but he was carefully instructed, that if the goods of this life were his only incitement, *they* likewise would be his only reward.

Siege of
 Bosra.

One of the fifteen provinces of Syria, the cultivated lands to the eastward of the Jordan, had been

been decorated by Roman vanity with the name *C H A P.* of *Arabia* *; and the first arms of the Saracens *LI.* were justified by the semblance of a national right. The country was enriched by the various benefits of trade; by the vigilance of the emperors it was covered with a line of forts; and the populous cities of Gerafa, Philadelphia, and Bosra †, were secure, at least from a surprise, by the solid structure of their walls. The last of these cities was the eighteenth station of Medina; the road was familiar to the caravans of Hejaz and Irak, who annually visited this plenteous market of the province and the desert; the perpetual jealousy of the Arabs had trained the inhabitants to arms; and twelve thousand horse could sally from the gates of Bosra, an appellation which signifies, in the Syriac language, a strong tower of defence. Encouraged by their first success against the open towns and flying parties of the borders, a detachment of four thousand Moslems presumed to summon and attack the fortress of Bosra. They were oppressed by the numbers of the Syrians; they were saved by the presence of Caled, with fifteen hundred horse; he blamed the enterprise, restored the battle, and rescued

* *Hinc Arabia est consortia, ex alio latere Nabathæis contigua; opima varietate commerciorum, castrisque oppleta validis et castellis, quæ ad repellendos gentium vicinarum excurses, sollicitudo perviget veterum pro opportunos saltos erexit et cautos. Ammian. Marcellin. xiv. 8. Reland. Palestin. tom. i. p. 85, 86.*

† With Gerasa and Philadelphia, Ammianus praises the fortifications of Bosra firmitate cautissimas. They deserved the same praise in the time of Abulfeda, (Tabul. Syria, p. 99.) who describes this city, the metropolis of Hawran, (Auranitis) four days journey from Damascus. The Hebrew Etymology I learn from Reland, Palestin. tom. ii. p. 666.

CHAP. LI. ~~scened~~ his friend, the venerable Serjabil, who had vainly invoked the unity of God and the promises of the apostle. After a short repose, the Moslems performed their ablutions with sand instead of water*; and the morning prayer was recited by Caled before they mounted on horseback. Confident in their strength, the people of Bosra threw open their gates, drew their forces into the plain, and swore to die in the defence of their religion. But a religion of peace was incapable of withstanding the fanatic cry of "Fight, fight! Paradise, paradise!" that re-echoed in the ranks of the Saracens; and the uproar of the town, the ringing of bells†, and the exclamations of the priests and monks, increased the dismay and disorder of the Christians. With the loss of two hundred and thirty men, the Arabs remained masters of the field; and the ramparts of Bosra, in expectation of human or divine aid, were crowded with holy crosses and consecrated banners. The governor Romanus had recommended an early submission; despised by the people, and degraded from his office, he still retained the desire and opportunity of

* The apostle of a desert and an army was obliged to allow this ready succedaneum for water; (Koran, c. iii. p. 66. c. v. p. 83.) but the Arabian and Persian casuists have embarrassed his free permission with many niceties and distinctions; (Re-land de Relig. Mohammed. l. i. p. 82, 83. Chardin, Voyages en Perse, tom. iv.)

† *The bells rung!* Ockley, vol. i. p. 38. Yet I much doubt whether this expression can be justified by the text of Al Wakidi, or the practice of the times. Ad Græcos, says the learned Ducange, (Glossar. med. et infim. Græcitat. tom. i. p. 774.) campanarum usus serius transit et etiam num rarissimus est. The oldest example which he can find in the Byzantine writers is of the year 1040; but the Venetians pretend, that they introduced bells at Constantinople in the ninth century.

of revenge. In a nocturnal interview, he informed the enemy of a subterraneous passage from his house under the wall of the city; the son of the caliph, with an hundred volunteers, were committed to the faith of this new ally, and their successful intrepidity gave an easy entrance to their companions. After Caled had imposed the terms of servitude and tribute, the apostate or convert avowed in the assembly of the people his meritorious treason. "I renounce your society," said Romanus, "both in this world, and the world to come. And I deny him that was crucified, and whosoever worships him. And I chuse God for my Lord, Islam for my faith, Mecca for my temple, the Moslems for my brethren, and Mahomet for my prophet; who was sent to lead us into the right way, and to exalt the true religion in spite of those who join partners with God."

C H A P.

LI.

The conquest of Bosra, four days journey from Damascus*, encouraged the Arabs to besiege the ancient capital of Syria†. At some distance from the walls, they encamped among the groves and

Siege of
Damascus.
A. D. 633.

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C c

fountains

* Damascus is amply described by the Sherif al Edrisi; (Geograph. Nub. p. 116, 117.) and his translator, Sionita; (Appendix, c. 4.) Abulfeda; (Tabula Syriæ, p. 100.) Schultens; (Index. Geograph. ad Vit. Saladin.) d'Herbelot; (Bibliot. Orient. p. 291.) Thevenot, Voyage du Levant; (part. ii. p. 688—698.) Maundrell; (Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 122—130.) and Pocock; (Description of the East, vol. ii. p. 117—127.)

† Nobilissima civitas, says Justin. According to the Oriental traditions, it was older than Abraham or Semiramis. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. i. c. 6, 7. p. 24, 29. edit. Havercamp. Justin. xxxvi. 2.

CHAP. **LI.** fountains of that delicious territory*, and the usual option of the Mahometan faith, of tribute, or of war, was proposed to the resolute citizens, who had been lately strengthened by a reinforcement of five thousand Greeks. In the decline as in the infancy of the military art, an hostile defiance was frequently offered and accepted by the generals themselves † : Many a lance was shivered in the plain of Damascus, and the personal prowess of Caled was signalized in the first sally of the besieged. After an obstinate combat, he had overthrown and made prisoner one of the Christian leaders, a stout and worthy antagonist. He instantly mounted a fresh horse, the gift of the governor of Palmyra, and pushed forwards to the front of the battle. "Repose yourself for a moment," said his friend Derar, "and permit me to supply your place; "you are fatigued with fighting with this dog." "O Derar!" replied the indefatigable Saracen, "we shall rest in the world to come. He that labours to-day, shall rest to-morrow." With the same

* Εδὲ γὰρ οἶμαι τὴν Δίος πόλιν ἀληθῶς, καὶ τῆς ἑνὸς ἀπαρχῆς ὀφθαλμον, τὴν, ἔργον καὶ μεγαλύνειν Δαμασκὸν λέγων, τοῖς τε ἀλλοῖς συμπασιν οἷοι ἱερὸν καλλεῖ, καὶ νῦν μελιθεῖ. καὶ ὄρων ευκαρπία καὶ πηγὰς ἀγλαίας καὶ ποταμῶν πλῆθι, καὶ λῆς εὐφορία νικῶσαν, &c. Julian, epist. xxiv. p. 392: These splendid epithets are occasioned by the figs of Damascus, of which the author sends an hundred to his friend Serapion, and this rhetorical theme is inserted by Petavius, Spanheim, &c. (p. 390—396.) among the genuine epistles of Julian. How could they overlook that the writer is an inhabitant of Damascus, (he thrice affirms, that this peculiar fig grows only παρὸν μιν,) a city which Julian never entered or approached?

† Voltaire, who casts a keen and lively glance over the surface of history, has been struck with the resemblance of the first Moslems and the heroes of the Iliad; the siege of Troy and that of Damascus. (Hist. Generale, tom. i. p. 348.)

same unabated ardour, Caled answered, encountered and vanquished a second champion; and the heads of his two captives who refused to abandon their religion were indignantly hurled into the midst of the city. The event of some general and partial actions reduced the Damascenes to a closer defence: But a messenger whom they dropped from the walls, returned with the promise of speedy and powerful succour, and their tumultuous joy conveyed the intelligence to the camp of the Arabs. After some debate it was resolved by the generals to raise, or rather to suspend, the siege of Damascus, till they had given battle to the forces of the emperor. In the retreat, Caled would have chosen the more perilous station of the rear-guard; he modestly yielded to the wishes of Abu Obeidah. But in the hour of danger he flew to the rescue of his companion, who was rudely pressed by a sally of six thousand horse and ten thousand foot, and few among the Christians could relate at Damascus the circumstances of their defeat. The importance of the contest required the junction of the Saracens who were dispersed on the frontiers of Syria and Palestine; and I shall transcribe one of the circular mandates which was addressed to Amrou the future conqueror of Egypt.

“ In the name of the most merciful God; from
 “ Caled to Amrou, health and happiness. Know
 “ that thy brethren the Moslems design to march
 “ to Aiznadin, where there is an army of seventy
 “ thousand Greeks, who purpose to come against
 “ us, *that they may extinguish the light of God with
 “ their mouths; but God preserveth his light in spite*

CHAP "of the infidels *. As soon, therefore, as this let-
 LI. "ter of mine shall be delivered to thy hands,
 "come with those that are with thee to Aizna-
 "din, where thou shalt find us, if it please the
 "most high God." The summons was cheer-
 fully obeyed, and the forty-five thousand Mos-
 lems who met on the same day, on the same spot,
 ascribed to the blessing of providence the effects
 of their activity and zeal.

Battle of
 Anadin,
 A.D. 633,
 July 13.

About four years after the triumphs of the Per-
 sian war, the repose of Heraclius and the empire
 was again disturbed by a new enemy, the power of
 whose religion was more strongly felt than it was
 clearly understood by the Christians of the East.
 In his palace of Constantinople or Antioch, he was
 awakened by the invasion of Syria, the loss of Bosra,
 and the danger of Damascus. An army of seventy
 thousand veterans, or new levies, was assembled
 at Hems or Emesa, under the command of his
 general Werdan †; and these troops, consisting
 chiefly of cavalry, might be indifferently stiled
 either Syrians, or Greeks, or Romans: *Syrians*,
 from the place of their birth or warfare; *Greeks*,
 from

* These words are the text of the Koran, c. ix. 32. lxi. 8.
 Like our fanatics of the last century, the Moslems, on every
 familiar or important occasion, spoke the language of *their*
 scriptures; a stile more natural in their mouths, than the He-
 brew idiom transplanted into the climate and dialect of Britain.

† The name of Werdan is unknown to Theophanes, and,
 though it might belong to an Armenian chief, has very little of
 a Greek aspect or sound. If the Byzantine historians have
 mangled the oriental names, the Arabs, in this instance, like-
 wise have taken ample revenge on their enemies. In transpos-
 ing the Greek character from right to left, might they not pro-
 duce, from the familiar appellation of *Andrew*, something like
 the anagram *Werdan*?

from the religion and language of their sovereign; and *Romans*, from the proud appellation which was still profaned by the successors of Constantine.

C H A P.
LI.

On the plain of Aiznadin, as Werdan rode on a white mule decorated with gold chains, and surrounded with ensigns and standards, he was surprised by the near approach of a fierce and naked warrior, who had undertaken to view the state of the enemy. The adventurous valour of Derar was inspired, and has perhaps been adorned, by the enthusiasm of his age and country. The hatred of the Christians, the love of spoil, and the contempt of danger, were the ruling passions of the audacious Saracen; and the prospect of instant death could never shake his religious confidence, or ruffle the calmness of his resolution, or even suspend the rank and martial pleantry of his humour. In the most hopeless enterprises, he was bold, and prudent, and fortunate: After innumerable hazards, after being thrice a prisoner in the hands of the infidels, he still survived to relate the achievements, and to enjoy the rewards, of the Syrian conquest. On this occasion, his single lance maintained a flying fight against thirty Romans, who were detached by Werdan; and after killing or unhorsing seventeen of their number, Derar returned in safety to his applauding brethren. When his rashness was mildly censured by the general, he excused himself with the simplicity of a soldier. "Nay," said Derar, "I did not begin first: But they came out to take me, and I was afraid that God should see me turn my back: And indeed I fought in good earnest, and without

C H A P. "doubt God assisted me against them; and had I
 LI. "not been apprehensive of disobeying your or-
 ders, I should not have come away as I did;
 "and I perceive already that they will fall into
 "our hands." In the presence of both armies, a
 venerable Greek advanced from the ranks with a
 liberal offer of peace; and the departure of the
 Saracens would have been purchased by a gift to
 each soldier, of a turban, a robe, and a piece of
 gold; ten robes, and an hundred pieces to their
 leader; one hundred robes, and a thousand pieces
 to the caliph. A smile of indignation expressed
 the refusal of Caled. "Ye Christian dogs, you
 "know your option: The koran, the tribute, or
 "the sword. We are a people whose delight is
 "in war, rather than in peace; and we despise
 "your pitiful alms, since we shall be speedily
 "masters of your wealth, your families, and your
 "persons." Notwithstanding this apparent dis-
 dain, he was deeply conscious of the public dan-
 ger: Those who had been in Persia, and had seen
 the armies of Chosroes, confessed that they never
 beheld a more formidable array. From the supe-
 riority of the enemy, the artful Saracen derived a
 fresh incentive of courage: "You see before you,"
 said he, "the united force of the Romans, you
 "cannot hope to escape, but you may conquer
 "Syria in a single day. The event depends on
 "your discipline and patience. Reserve your-
 "selves till the evening. It was in the evening
 "that the prophet was accustomed to vanquish."
 During two successive engagements, his temperate
 firmness sustained the darts of the enemy, and the
 murmurs

murmurs of his troops. At length, when the spirits and quivers of the adverse line were almost exhausted, Caled gave the signal of onset and victory. The remains of the Imperial army fled to Antioch, or Cæsaria, or Damascus; and the death of four hundred and seventy Moslems was compensated by the opinion that they had sent to hell above fifty thousand of the infidels. The spoil was inestimable; many banners and crosses of gold and silver, precious stones, silver and gold chains, and innumerable suits of the richest armour and apparel. The general distribution was postponed till Damascus should be taken; but the seasonable supply of arms became the instrument of new victories. The glorious intelligence was transmitted to the throne of the caliph, and the Arabian tribes, the coldest or most hostile to the prophet's mission, were eager and importunate to share the harvest of Syria.

The sad tidings were carried to Damascus by the speed of grief and terror; and the inhabitants beheld from their walls the return of the heroes of Aiznadid. Amrou led the van at the head of nine thousand horse: The bands of the Saracens succeeded each other in formidable review; and the rear was closed by Caled in person, with the standard of the black eagle. To the activity of Derar he entrusted the commission of patrolling round the city with two thousand horse, of scouring the plain, and of intercepting all succour or intelligence. The rest of the Arabian chiefs were fixed in their respective stations before the seven gates of Damascus;

The Arabs
return to
Damas-
cus.

Thomas *, an incomparable archer, was fatal to the boldest Saracens, till their death was revenged by a female heroine. The wife of Aban, who had followed him to the holy war, embraced her expiring husband. "Happy," said she, "happy art thou my dear; thou art gone to thy Lord who first joined us together, and then parted us asunder. I will revenge thy death, and endeavour to the utmost of my power to come to the place where thou art, because I love thee. Henceforth shall no man ever touch me more, for I have dedicated myself to the service of God." Without a groan, without a tear, she washed the corpse of her husband, and buried him with the usual rites. Then grasping the manly weapons, which in her native land she was accustomed to wield, the intrepid widow of Aban sought the place where his murderer fought in the thickest of the battle. Her first arrow pierced the hand of his standard-bearer; her second wounded Thomas in the eye; and the fainting Christians no longer beheld their ensign or their leader. Yet the generous champion of Damascus refused to withdraw to his palace: His wound was dressed on the rampart; the fight was continued till the evening; and the Syrians rested on their arms. In the silence of the night, the signal was given by a stroke on the great bell; the gates were thrown open, and each gate discharged an impetuous column on the sleeping camp of the Saracens.

* Al Wakidi (Ockley, p. 101.) says, "with poisoned arrows;" but this savage invention is so repugnant to the practice of the Greeks and Romans, that I must suspect, on this occasion, the malevolent credulity of the Saracens.

C H A P. Saracens, Caled was the first in arms; at the head
LI. of four hundred horse he flew to the post of danger,
 and the tears trickled down his iron cheeks, as he
 uttered a fervent ejaculation; "O God! who
 " never sleepest, look upon thy servants, and do
 " not deliver them into the hands of their enemies."
 The valour and victory of Thomas were arrested
 by the presence of the *sword of God*; with the
 knowledge of the peril, the Moslems recovered
 their ranks, and charged the assailants in the flank
 and rear. After the loss of thousands, the Christian
 general retreated with a sigh of despair, and the
 pursuit of the Saracens was checked by the mili-
 tary engines of the rampart.

The city
 is taken
 by storm
 and capi-
 tulation,
 A. D. 634.

After a siege of seventy days *, the patience,
 and perhaps the provisions, of the Damascenes,
 were exhausted; and the bravest of their chiefs
 submitted to the hard dictates of necessity. In
 the occurrences of peace and war, they had been
 taught to dread the fierceness of Caled, and to re-
 vere the mild virtues of Abu Obeidah. At the
 hour of midnight, one hundred chosen deputies of
 the clergy and people were introduced to the tent
 of that venerable commander. He received and
 dismissed

* Abulfeda allows only seventy days for the siege of Damas-
 cus; (Annal. Moslem, p. 67. vers. Reiske,) but Elmacin, who
 mentions this opinion, prolongs the term to six months, and
 notices the use of *balistæ* by the Saracens, (Hist. Saracen. p. 25.
 32.) Even this longer period is insufficient to fill the interval
 between the battle of Aiznadid (July A.D. 633) and the acces-
 sion of Omar, (24. July A.D. 634,) to whose reign the conquest
 of Damascus is unanimously ascribed, (Al Wakidi, apud Ock-
 ley, vol. i. p. 115. Abulpharagius, Dynast. p. 112. vers. Po-
 cock.) Perhaps, as in the Trojan war, the operations were in-
 terrupted by excursions and detachments, till the last seventy
 days of the siege.

dismissed them with courtesy. They returned with a written agreement, on the faith of a companion of Mahomet, that all hostilities should cease; that the voluntary emigrants might depart in safety, with as much as they could carry away of their effects; and that the tributary subjects of the caliphs should enjoy their lands and houses, with the use and possession of seven churches. On these terms, the most respectable hostages, and the gate nearest to his camp, were delivered into his hands; his soldiers imitated the moderation of their chief; and he enjoyed the submissive gratitude of a people whom he had rescued from destruction. But the success of the treaty had relaxed their vigilance, and in the same moment the opposite quarter of the city was betrayed and taken by assault. A party of an hundred Arabs had opened the eastern gate to a more inexorable foe. "No quarter," cried the rapacious and sanguinary Caled, "no quarter to the enemies of the Lord;" his trumpets sounded, and a torrent of Christian blood was poured down the streets of Damascus. When he reached the church of St Mary, he was astonished and provoked by the peaceful aspect of his companions: Their swords were in the scabbard, and they were surrounded by a multitude of priests and monks. Abu Obeidah saluted the general; "God," said he, "has delivered the city into my hands by way of surrender, and has saved the believers the trouble of fighting." "And am I not," replied the indignant Caled, "am I not the lieutenant of the commander of the faithful? Have I not taken the city by storm? The
" unbelievers

C H A P.
LI.

C H A P. "unbelievers shall perish by the sword. Fall on."

LI.

The hungry and cruel Arabs would have obeyed the welcome command: And Damascus was lost, if the benevolence of Abu Obeidah had not been supported by a decent and dignified firmness. Throwing himself between the trembling citizens and the most eager of the Barbarians, he adjured them by the holy name of God, to respect his promise, to suspend their fury, and to wait the determination of their chiefs. The chiefs retired into the church of St Mary; and after a vehement debate, Caled submitted in some measure to the reason and authority of his colleague; who urged the sanctity of a covenant, the advantage as well as the honour which the Moslems would derive from the punctual performance of their word, and the obstinate resistance which they must encounter from the distrust and despair of the rest of the Syrian cities. It was agreed that the sword should be sheathed, that the part of Damascus which had surrendered to Abu Obeidah, should be immediately entitled to the benefit of his capitulation, and that the final decision should be referred to the justice and wisdom of the caliph*. A large majority of the people accepted the terms of toleration and tribute; and Damascus is still peopled by twenty thousand Christians. But the valiant Thomas, and the free-born patriots who had fought under his banner, embraced the alternative of poverty and exile. In the adjacent meadow, a numerous encampment was formed of

* It appears from Abulfeda, (p. 125.) and Elmacin, (p. 32.) that this distinction of the two parts of Damascus was long remembered, though not always respected, by the Mahometan sovereigns. See likewise Eutychius, (Annal. tom. ii. p. 379, 380. 383.)

of priests and laymen, of soldiers and citizens, of women and children: They collected with haste and terror their most precious moveables; and abandoned, with loud lamentations or silent anguish, their native homes, and the pleasant banks of the Pharphar. The inflexible soul of Caled was not touched by the spectacle of their distress: He disputed with the Damascenes the property of a magazine of corn; endeavoured to exclude the garrison from the benefit of the treaty; consented, with reluctance, that each of the fugitives should arm himself with a sword, or a lance, or a bow; and sternly declared, that, after a respite of three days, they might be pursued and treated as the enemies of the Moslems.

C H A P.
LI.Pursuit of
the Da-
mascenes.

The passion of a Syrian youth completed the ruin of the exiles of Damascus. A nobleman of the city, of the name of Jonas *, was betrothed to a wealthy maiden; but her parents delayed the consummation of his nuptials, and their daughter was persuaded to escape with the man whom she had chosen. They corrupted the nightly watchmen of the gate Keisan: The lover, who led the way, was encompassed by a squadron of Arabs; but his exclamation in the Greek tongue, “ the
“ bird

* On the fate of these lovers, whom he names Phocyas and Eudocia, Mr Hughes has built the siege of Damascus, one of our most popular tragedies, and which possesses the rare merit of blending nature and history, the manners of the times and the feelings of the heart. The foolish delicacy of the players compelled him to soften the guilt of the hero and the despair of the heroine. Instead of a base renegado, Phocyas serves the Arabs as an honourable ally; instead of prompting their pursuit, he flies to the succour of his countrymen, and after killing Caled and Derar, is himself mortally wounded, and expires in the presence of Eudocia, who professes her resolution to take the veil at Constantinople. A frigid catastrophe!

C H A P. "bird is taken," admonished his mistress to hasten
II. her return. In the presence of Caled, and of death, the unfortunate Jonas professed his belief in one God, and his apostle Mahomet; and continued till the season of his martyrdom, to discharge the duties of a brave and sincere Mussulman. When the city was taken, he flew to the monastery, where Eudocia had taken refuge; but the lover was forgotten; the apostate was scorned; she preferred her religion to her country; and the justice of Caled, though deaf to mercy, refused to detain by force a male or female inhabitant of Damascus. Four days was the general confined to the city by the obligation of the treaty, and the urgent cares of his new conquest. His appetite for blood and rapine would have been extinguished by the hopeless computation of time and distance; but he listened to the importunities of Jonas, who assured him that the weary fugitives might yet be overtaken. At the head of four thousand horse, in the disguise of Christian Arabs, Caled undertook the pursuit. They halted only for the moments of prayer; and the guide had a perfect knowledge of the country. For a long way the footsteps of the Damascenes were plain and conspicuous: They vanished on a sudden; but the Saracens were comforted by the assurance that the caravan had turned aside into the mountains, and must speedily fall into their hands. In traversing the ridges of the Libanus, they endured intolerable hardships, and the sinking spirits of the veteran fanatics were supported and cheered by the unconquerable ardour of a lover. From a peasant of the
country,

country, they were informed that the emperor had sent orders to the colony of exiles, to pursue without delay the road of the sea-coast, and of Constantinople ; apprehensive, perhaps, that the soldiers and people of Antioch might be discouraged by the sight and the story of their sufferings. The Saracens were conducted through the territories of Gabala * and Laodicea, at a cautious distance from the walls of the cities ; the rain was incessant, the night was dark, a single mountain separated them from the Roman army ; and Caled, ever anxious for the safety of his brethren, whispered an ominous dream in the ear of his companion. With the dawn of day, the prospect again cleared, and they saw before them, in a pleasant valley, the tents of Damascus. After a short interval of repose and prayer, Caled divided his cavalry into four squadrons, committing the first to his faithful Derar, and reserving the last for himself. They successively rushed on the promiscuous multitude, insufficiently provided with arms, and already vanquished by sorrow and fatigue. Except a captive who was pardoned and dismissed, the Arabs enjoyed the satisfaction of believing that not a Christian of either sex escaped the edge of the scymetars. The gold and silver of Damascus was scattered over the camp, and a royal wardrobe of three hundred load
of

* The towns of Gabala and Laodicea, which the Arabs passed, still exist in a state of decay, (Maundrell, p. 11, 12. Pocock, vol. ii. p. 14.) Had not the Christians been overtaken, they must have crossed the Orontes on some bridge in the sixteen miles between Antioch and the sea, and might have rejoined the high road of Constantinople at Alexandria. The itineraries will represent the directions and distances, (p. 146. 148. 581, 582. edit. Wesseling.)

CHAP. come sound of the *tecbir* *, and they soon perceived the standard of Caled, who flew to their relief with the utmost speed of his cavalry. The Christians were broken by his attack, and slaughtered in their flight as far as the river of Tripoli. They left behind them the various riches of the fair; the merchandises that were exposed for sale, the money that was brought for purchase, the gay decorations of the nuptials, and the governor's daughter, with forty of her female attendants. The fruits, provisions, and furniture, the money, plate, and jewels, were diligently laden on the backs of horses, asses, and mules; and the holy robbers returned in triumph to Damascus. The hermit, after a short and angry controversy with Caled, declined the crown of martyrdom, and was left alive in the solitary scene of blood and devastation.

Sieges of
Heliopolis
and Eme-
sa,
A.D. 685.

Syria †, one of the countries that have been improved by the most early cultivation, is not unworthy of the preference ‡. The heat of the climate

* We heard the *tecbir*; so the Arabs call.

Their shout of onset, when, with loud appeal

They challenge heaven, as if demanding conquest.

This word, so formidable in their holy wars, is a verb active (says Ockley in his Index) of the second conjugation, from *Kabbara*, which signifies saying *Alla Achbar*, God is most mighty!

† In the geography of Abulfeda, the description of Syria, his native country, is the most interesting and authentic portion. It was published in Arabic and Latin, Lipsie, 1766, in quarto, with the learned notes of Kochler and Reiske, and some extracts of geography and natural history from Ibn O Wardih. Among the modern travels, Pecoock's description of the East (of Syria and Mesopotamia, vol. ii. p. 88--200) is a work of superior learning and dignity; but the author too often confounds what he had seen and what he had read.

‡ The praises of Dionysius are just and lively, (Syria)

by the nuptials of the daughter of the governor of Tripoli. Abdallah, the son of Jaafar, a glorious and holy martyr, undertook, with a banner of five hundred horse, the pious and profitable commission of despoiling the infidels. As he approached the fair of Abyla, he was astonished by the report of the mighty concourse of Jews and Christians, Greeks and Armenians, of natives of Syria and of strangers of Egypt, to the number of ten thousand, besides a guard of five thousand horse that attended the person of the bride. The Saracens paused: "For my own part," said Abdallah, "*I dare not* go back; our foes are many, our danger is great; but our reward is splendid and secure, either in this life or in the life to come. Let every man, according to his inclination, advance or retire." Not a Mussulman deserted his standard. "Lead the way," said Abdallah to his Christian guide, "and you shall see what the companions of the prophet can perform." They charged in five squadrons; but after the first advantage of the surprise, they were encompassed and almost overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies; and their valiant band is fancifully compared to a white spot in the skin of a black camel *. About the hour of sunset, when their weapons dropped from their hands, when they panted on the verge of eternity, they discovered an approaching cloud of dust, they heard the wel-

VOL. IX.

D d

come

* I am bolder than Mr Ockley, (vol. i. p. 164.) who dares not insert this figurative expression in the text, though he observes in a marginal note, that the Arabians often borrow their similes from that useful and familiar animal. The rein deer may be equally famous in the songs of the Laplanders.

CHAP.

LI.

liopolis or Baalbec, the former as the metropolis of the plain, the latter as the capital of the valley. Under the last of the Casars, they were strong and populous. The turrets glittered from afar: An ample space was covered with public and private buildings; and the citizens were distinguished by their spirit, or at least by their pride; by their riches, or at least by their luxury. In the days of Paganism, both Emesa and Heliopolis were addicted to the worship of Baal, or the sun; but the decline of their superstition and splendour has been marked by a singular variety of fortune. Not a vestige remains of the temple of Emesa, which was equalled in poetic style to the summits of mount Libanus*, while the ruins of Baalbec, invisible to the writers of antiquity, excite the curiosity and wonder of the European traveller†. The measure of the temple is two hundred feet in length.

* — Emesæ fastigia celsa resident
Nam diffusa solo latus explicat; ac subit auras
Turribus in cœlum aitentibus: Incola olaris
Cor studiis acuit
Denique flammicomæ devoti pectora soli
Vitæ agitant: Libani frondosa cacumina turgent;
Et tamen his certant celsi fastigia templi.

These verses of the Latin version of Rufus Avienus are wanting in the Greek original of Dionysius; and since they are likewise unnoticed by Eustathius, I must, with Fabricius, (Biblot. Latin. tom. iii. p. 153. edit. Ernesti,) and against Salmasius, (ad Vopiscum, p. 366, 367. in Hist. August.) ascribe them to the fancy rather than the MSS. of Avienus.

† I am much better satisfied with Maundrell's slight notice, (Journey, p. 134—139.) than with the pompous folio of Doctor Pocock; (Description of the East, vol. ii. p. 306—313.) but every preceding account is eclipsed by the magnificent description and drawings of M. de La Roque and Wood, who have transported into England the ruins of Palmyra and Baalbec.

length, and one hundred in breadth: The front is adorned with a double portico of eight columns; fourteen may be counted on either side; and each column, forty-five feet in height, is composed of three massy blocks of stone or marble. The proportions and ornaments of the Corinthian order express the architecture of the Greeks; but as Baalbec has never been the seat of a monarch, we are at a loss to conceive how the expence of these magnificent structures could be supplied by private or municipal liberality *. From the conquest of Damascus the Saracens proceeded to Heliopolis and Emesa: But I shall decline the repetition of the sallies and combats which have been already shewn on a larger scale. In the prosecution of the war, their policy was not less effectual than their sword. By short and separate truces they dissolved the union of the enemy; accustomed the Syrians to compare their friendship with their enmity; familiarised the idea of their language, religion, and manners; and exhausted, by clandestine purchase, the magazines and arsenals of the cities which they returned to besiege. They aggravated the ransom of the more wealthy, or the more obstinate; and Chalcis alone was taxed at five thousand ounces of gold, five thousand ounces of silver, two thousand robes of silk, and as many figs and plives as would load

D d 3 five

* The Orientals explain the prodigy by a never-failing expedient. The edifices of Baalbec were constructed by the fairies or the genii (Hist. de Timour Bec, tom. iii, l. v. c. 23. p. 311, 312. Voyage d'Otter, tom. i, p. 83.) With less absurdity, but with equal ignorance, Abulfeda and Ibn Chaukel ascribe them to the Sabazians or Aadites. Non sunt in omni Syria ædificia magnificentiora his. (Tabula Syrie, p. 103.)

CHAPTER FIVE thousand asses.) But the terms of truce or capitulation were faithfully observed, and the lieutenant of the caliph, who had promised not to enter the walls of the captive Baalbec, remained tranquil and immovable in his tent till the jarring factions solicited the interposition of a foreign master. The conquest of the plain and valley of Syria was achieved in less than two years. Yet the commander of the faithful reproved the slowness of their progress, and the Saracens, bewailing their fault with tears of rage and repentance, called aloud on their chiefs to lead them forth to fight the battles of the Lord. In a recent action, under the walls of Emesa, an Arabian youth, the cousin of Galed, was heard aloud to exclaim, "Methinks I see the black-eyed girls looking upon me; one of whom, should she appear in this world, all mankind would die for love of her. And I see in the hand of one of them, an handkerchief of green silk, and a cap of precious stones, and she beckons me, and calls out, come hither quickly, for I love thee." With these words, charging the Christians, he made havock wherever he went, till observed at length by the governor of Hems, he was struck through with a javelin.

Battle of
Yermuk,
A. D. 636,
Novem-
ber.

It was incumbent on the Saracens to exert the full powers of their valour and enthusiasm against the forces of the emperor, who was taught by repeated losses, that the rovers of the desert had undertaken, and would speedily achieve, a regular and permanent conquest. From the provinces of Europe and Asia, four score thousand soldiers were transported

CITHAIP.

III

transported by sea and land to Antioch and Caesarea; the light troops of the army consisted of sixty thousand Christian Arabs of the tribe of Gassan. Under the banner of Jabalah, the last of their princes, they marched in the vanguard; and it was a maxim of the Greeks, that, for the purpose of cutting diamond, a diamond was the most effectual. Heraclius withheld his person from the dangers of the field; but his presumption, or perhaps his despondency, suggested a peremptory order, that the fate of the province and the war should be decided by a single battle. The Syrians were attached to the standard of Rome and of the cross; but the noble, the citizen, the peasant, were exasperated by the injustice and cruelty of a licentious host, who oppressed them as subjects, and despised them as strangers and aliens*. A report of these mighty preparations was conveyed to the Saracens in their camp of Emesa; and the chiefs, though resolved to fight, assembled a council; the faith of Abu Obeidah would have expected on the same spot the glory of martyrdom; the wisdom of Calad advised an honourable retreat to the skirts of Palestine and Arabia, where they might await the succours of their friends; and the attack of the unbelievers. A speedy messenger soon returned from the throne of Medina, with the blessings of Omar and Ali, the prayers of the widows

Dd 4

* I have read somewhere in Tacitus, or Grotius, *Subiectos habent, tanquam suos, vires tanquam alienos*. Some Greek officers ravished the wife, and murdered the child, of their Syrian landlord; and Marcellus smiled at his undutiful complaint.

C. H. A. B. widows of the prophet, and a reinforcement of
 eight thousand Moslems. In their way they over-
 turned a detachment of Gassaks, and when they
 joined at Yermak the camp of their brethren,
 they found the pleasing intelligence, that Caled
 had already defeated and scattered the Christian
 Arabs of the tribe of Gassan. In the neighbour-
 hood of Boara, the springs of Mount Hermon de-
 scend in a torrent to the plain of Debapolia, or tep-
 cities; and the Hieromax, a name which has
 been corrupted to Yermak, is lost after a short
 course in the lake of Tiberias *. The banks of
 this obscure stream were illustrated by a long and
 bloody encounter. On this momentous occasion,
 the public voice, and the modesty of Abu Obeidah,
 restored the command to the most deserving of
 the Moslems. Caled assumed his station in the
 front; his colleague was posted in the rear, that
 the disorder of the fugitives might be checked by
 his venerable aspect, and the sight of the yellow
 banner which Mahomet had displayed before the
 walls of Chaibar. The last line was occupied by
 the sister of Derrar, with the Arabian women who
 had enlisted in this holy war, who were accustomed
 to wield the bow and the lance, and who in a mo-
 ment of captivity had defended, against the in-

circumcised
 See Reland, *Palestin.* tom. i. p. 272. 283. tom. ii. p. 773.
 775. This learned professor was equal to the task of describing
 the Holy Land, since he was alike conversant with Greek and
 Latin, with Hebrew and Arabian literature. The Yermak,
 or Hieromax, is noticed by Cellarius, (*Geograph. Antiq.* tom. i.
 ii. p. 392.) and d'Anville, (*Geographie Ancienne*, tom. ii. p.
 189.) The Arabs, and even Abulfeda himself, do not seem
 to recognise the scene of their victory.

circumcised ravishers, their chastity and religion. The exhortation of the general was brief and forcible; "Paradise is before you, the devil and hell fire in your rear." Yet such was the weight of the Roman cavalry, that the right wing of the Arabs was broken and separated from the main body. Thrice did they retreat in disorder, and thrice were they driven back to the charge by the reproaches and blows of the women. In the intervals of action, Abu Obeidah visited the tents of his brethren, prolonged their repose, by repeating at once the prayers of two different hours; bound up their wounds with his own hands, and administered the comfortable reflection, that the infidels partook of their sufferings without partaking of their reward. Four thousand and thirty of the Moslems were buried in the field of battle; and the skill of the Armenian archers enabled seven hundred to boast that they had lost an eye in that meritorious service. The veterans of the Syrian war acknowledged that it was the hardest and most doubtful of the days which they had seen. But it was likewise the most decisive; many thousands of the Greeks and Syrians fell by the swords of the Arabs; many were slaughtered, after the defeat in the woods and mountains; many, by mistaking the ford, were drowned in the waters of the Yermuk; and however the loss may be magnified †, the

* These women were of the tribe of the Hamyarites, who derived their origin from the ancient Amalekites. Their females were accustomed to ride on horseback, and to fight like the Amazons of old, (Ockley, vol. i. p. 67.)

† We killed of them, says Abu Obeidah to the caliph, one hundred and fifty thousand, and made prisoners forty thousand, (Ockley,

CHAP. the Christian writers confess and bewail the bloody punishment of their sins. †. Manuel, the Roman general, was either killed at Damascus, or took refuge in the monastery of mount Sinai. An exile in the Byzantine court, Jabalah lamented the manners of Arabia, and his unlucky preference of the Christian cause. †. He had once inclined to the profession of Islam; but in the pilgrimage of Mecca, Jabalah was provoked to strike one of his brethren, and fled with amazement from the stern and equal justice of the caliph. The victorious Saracens enjoyed at Damascus a month of pleasure and repose; the spoil was divided by the discretion of Abu Obeidah; an equal share was allotted to a soldier and to his horse, and a double portion was reserved for the noble coursers of the Arabian breed.

After (Ockley, vol. i. p. 241.) As I cannot doubt his veracity, not believe his computation, I must suspect that the Arabic historians indulged themselves in the practice of composing speeches and letters for their heroes.

* After deploring the sins of the Christians, Theophanes adds, (Chronograph, p. 276.) *ανιστη ο ιερμικος Αμαλην τυπτων ηρας τον λαον της Χρυστης, και γινεται προση Οραμ Μεσοδης τοις ραι μακρυς στρατη, η κατα τη Γαβριελ, λεγει, (does he mean Arianadus?) και ιερμικαν, και την αβισμον αιματοχυσιαν. His account is brief and obscure, but he accuses the numbers of the enemy, the adverse wind, and the cloud of dust; *μη δυναμενται, (the Romans) ανταπρωσθησαι ιχθεις; δια τον κοινορτον, ηττωνται, και ιαντες βαλ- λονται; ως τας ενωδους τη Ιερμοχου ποταμου εκει απωλοντο αρεδν,* (Chronograph. p. 280.)*

† See Abulfeda, (Annal. Moslem. p. 70, 71.) who transcribes the poetical complaint of Jabalah himself, and some panegyrical strains of an Arabian poet, to whom the chief of Gassan sent from Constantinople a gift of five hundred pieces of gold by the hands of the ambassador of Omar,

After the battle of Yermuk, the Roman Army no longer appeared in the field; and the Saracens might securely chafe among the fortified towns of Syria, the first object of their attack. They consulted the caliph whether they should march to Cæsarea or Jerusalem; and the advice of Ali determined the immediate siege of the latter. To a profane eye, Jerusalem was the first or second capital of Palestine; but after Mecca and Medina, it was revered and visited by the devout Moslems, as the temple of the Holy Land, which had been sanctified by the revelation of Moses, of Jesus, and of Mahomet himself. The son of Abu Sophian was sent with five thousand Arabs to try the first experiment of surprise or treaty: But on the eleventh day, the town was invested by the whole force of Abu Obeidah. He addressed the customary summons to the chief commanders and people of *Ælia* *. “ Health and happiness to every one that follows the right way! We require of you to testify that there is but one God, and that Mahomet is his apostle. If you refuse this, consent to pay tribute, and be under us forthwith. Otherwise I shall bring men against you who love death better than you do the drinking of wine or eating hogs flesh. Nor will I ever stir from you, if it please God, “ till

* In the name of the city, the profane prevailed over the sacred; Jerusalem was known to the devout Christians; (Euseb. de Martyr. Palest. c. xi.) but the legal and popular appellation of *Ælia* (the colony of *Ælius* Hadrianus) has passed from the Romans to the Arabs, (Reland, *Palestin.* tom. i. p. 207. tom. ii. p. 835. d’Herbélot, *Bibliothèque Orientale, Cods*, p. 269. *Iliu*, p. 420.) The epithet of *Al Cods*, the Holy, is used as the proper name of Jerusalem.

CH. II. 11. "till I have destroyed those that fight for you, and made slaves of your children!" But the

city was defended on every side by deep vallies and steep ascents; since the invasion of Syria, the walls and towers had been anxiously restored; the bravest of the fugitives of Yermuk had stopped in the nearest place of refuge; and in the defence of the sepulchre of Christ, the natives and strangers might feel some sparks of the enthusiasm which so fiercely glowed in the bosoms of the Saracens. The siege of Jerusalem lasted four months; not a day was lost without some action of sally or assault; the military engines incessantly played from the ramparts; and the inclemency of the winter was still more painful and destructive to the Arabs. The Christians yielded at length to the perseverance of the besiegers. The patriarch Sophronius appeared on the walls, and by the voice of an interpreter demanded a conference. After a vain attempt to dissuade the lieutenant of the caliph from his impious enterprise, he proposed, in the name of the people, a fair capitulation, with this extraordinary clause, that the articles of security should be ratified by the authority and presence of Omar himself. The question was debated in the council of Medina; the sanctity of the place, and the advice of Ali, persuaded the caliph to gratify the wishes of his soldiers and enemies, and the simplicity of his journey is more illustrious than the royal pageants of vanity and oppression. The conqueror of Persia and Syria was mounted on a red camel, which carried, besides his person, a bag of corn, a bag of dates, a wooden

wooden dish, and a leathern bottle of water. CHAP. II
 Wherever he halted, the company, without distinction, was invited to partake of his homely fare, and the repast was consecrated by the prayer and exhortation of the commander of the faithful. But in this expedition or pilgrimage, his power was exercised in the administration of justice; he reformed the licentious polygamy of the Arabs, relieved the tributaries from extortion and cruelty, and chastised the luxury of the Saracens, by despoiling them of their rich silks; and dragging them on their faces in the dirt. When he came within sight of Jerusalem, the caliph cried with a loud voice, "God is victorious. O Lord, give us an easy conquest;" and pitching his tent of coarse hair, calmly seated himself on the ground. After signing the capitulation, he entered the city without fear or precaution; and courteously discoursed with the patriarch concerning its religious antiquities †. Sophronius bowed before his new master, and secretly muttered, in the words of Daniel, "The abomination of desolation is in the holy place ‡." At the hour of prayer they stood together

* The singular journey and equipage of Omar are described (besides Ockley, vol. i. p. 250.) by Murtadi, (Merveilles de l'Egypte, p. 200—202.)

† The Arabs boast of an old prophecy preserved at Jerusalem, and describing the name, the religion, and the person of Omar, the future conqueror. By such arts the Jews are said to have soothed the pride of their foreign masters, Cyrus and Alexander, (Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. xii. c. vi. §. 1. p. 547, 549, 582.)

‡ Το ἀδελφικὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ ἁγίου Δανιὴλ, καὶ προσφύτας ὡς ἐν τῇ αἰνῇ. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 281. This prediction, which had already served for Antiochus and the Romans, was again suited for the present occasion, by the cœonomy of Sophronius, one of the deepest Theologians of the Monothelite controversy.

CHAP. together in the church of the resurrection; but
 LI. the caliph refused to perform his devotions; and
 contented himself with praying on the steps of the
 church of Constantine. To the patriarch he dis-
 closed his prudent and honourable motive. "Had
 * I yielded," said Omar, "to your request, the
 " Moslems of a future age would have infringed
 " the treaty under colour of imitating my ex-
 * ample." By his command the ground of the
 temple of Solomon was prepared for the founda-
 tion of a mosch*; and, during a residence of ten
 days, he regulated the present and future state
 of his Syriani conquests. Medina might be jea-
 lous, lest the caliph should be detained by the
 sanctity of Jerusalem or the beauty of Damascus;
 her apprehensions were dispelled by his prompt
 and voluntary return to the tomb of the apostle †.

Of Aleppo
 and An-
 tioch,
 A. D. 638.

To atchieve what yet remained of the Syrian
 war, the caliph had formed two separate armies;
 a chosen detachment, under Amrou and Yezid,
 was left in the camp of Palestine; while the larger
 division, under the standard of Abu Obeidah and
 Caled, marched away to the north against Antioch
 and

* According to the accurate survey of d'Anville, (*Disserta-
 tion sur l'ancienne Jerusalem*, p. 42-54); the mosch of Omar,
 enlarged and embellished by succeeding caliphs, covered the
 ground of the ancient temple, (*παλαιον τε μεγαλον και δαυειδον*,
 says Phocas,) a length of 215, a breadth of 172, toises. The
 Nubian geographer declares, that this magnificent structure
 was second only in size and beauty to the great mosch of Cor-
 dova, (p. 113.) whose present state Mr Swinburne has so ele-
 gantly represented, (*Travels into Spain*, p. 296-302.)

† Of the many Arabic tarikhs or chronicles of Jerusalem,
 (d'Herbelot, p. 867.) Ockley found one among the Pécoc
 MSS. of Oxford (vol. i. p. 257) which he has used to supply
 the defective narrative of Al Wakidi.

and Aleppo. The latter of these, the Berem of the Greeks, was not yet illustrious as the capital of a province or a kingdom; and the inhabitants, by anticipating their submission and pleading their poverty, obtained a moderate composition for their lives and religion. But the castle of Aleppo *, distinct from the city, stood erect on a lofty artificial mound: The sides were sharpened to a precipice, and faced with freestone; and the breadth of the ditch might be filled with water from the neighbouring springs. After the loss of three thousand men, the garrison was still equal to the defence; and Youkina, their valiant and hereditary chief, had murdered his brother, an holy monk, for daring to pronounce the name of peace. In a siege of four or five months, the hardest of the Syrian war, great numbers of the Saracens were killed and wounded; their removal to the distance of a mile could not seduce the vigilance of Youkina; nor could the Christians be terrified by the execution of three hundred captives, whom they beheaded before the castle wall. The silence, and at length the complaints, of Abu Obeidah, informed the caliph, that their hope and patience were consumed at the foot of this impregnable fortress. "I am variously affected," replied Omar, "by the difference of your success; but I charge
" you

* The Persian historian of Timur (tom. iii. l. v. c. 21. p. 300.) describes the castle of Aleppo as founded on a rock one hundred cubits in height; a proof, says the French translator, that he had never visited the place. It is now in the midst of the city, of no strength, with a single gate, the circuit is about 500 or 600 paces, and the ditch half full of stagnant water; (Voyages de Tavernier, tom. i. p. 149. Pocock, vol. ii. part. i. p. 150.) The fortresses of the East are contemptible to an European eye.

CHAP. "you by no means to raise the siege of the castle.
 LI. "Your retreat would diminish the reputation of
 "our arms, and encourage the infidels to fall
 "upon you on all sides. Remain before Aleppo
 "till God shall determine the event, and forage
 "with your horse round the adjacent country."
 The exhortation of the commander of the faithful
 was fortified by a supply of volunteers from all the
 tribes of Arabia, who arrived in the camp on
 horses or camels. Among these was Dames, of a
 servile birth, but of gigantic size and intrepid re-
 solution. The forty-seventh day of his service he
 proposed, with only thirty men, to undertake a
 temptation the castle. The experience and testi-
 mony of Qasid recommended his offer, and he
 Obeidah admonished his brethren not to despise
 the base origin of Dames, since he himself, should
 he relinquish the public care, would cheerfully
 serve under the banner of the slave. His design
 was covered by the appearance of a retreat, and
 the camp of the Saracens was pitched about a
 league from Aleppo. The thirty adventurers lay
 in ambush at the foot of the hill; and Dames at
 length succeeded in his inquiries, though he was
 provoked by the ignorance of his Greek captive.
 "God curse these dogs," said the illiterate Arab,
 "what a strange barbarous language they speak!"
 At the darkest hour of the night, he scaled the
 most accessible height which he had diligently sur-
 veyed, a place where the stones were less effire,
 or the slope less perpendicular, or the guard less
 vigilant. Seven of the stoutest Saracens mounted
 on each other's shoulders, and the weight of the
 column

column was sustained on the broad and sinewy back of the gigantic slaves. The foremost in this painful ascent could grasp and climb the lowest part of the battlements; they silently stabbed and cast down the sentinels; and the thirty brethren, repeating a pious ejaculation, "O apostle of God, help and deliver us!" were successively drawn up by the long folds of their turbans. With bold and cautious footsteps, Dames explored the palace of the governor, who celebrated, in riotous merriment, the festival of his deliverance. From thence returning to his companions, he assaulted on the inside the entrance of the castle. They overpowered the guard, unbolted the gate, let down the draw-bridge, and defended the narrow pass, till the arrival of Galed, with the dawn of day, relieved their danger, and assured their conquest. Youkinna, a formidable foe, became an active and useful proselyte; and the general of the Saracens expressed his regard for the most humble merit, by detaining the army at Aleppo till Dames was cured of his honourable wounds. The capital of Syria was still covered by the castle of Antaz and the iron bridge of the Orontes. After the loss of those important posts, and the defeat of the last of the Roman armies, the luxury of Antioch,* trembled

VOL. IX. E c and

* The date of the conquest of Antioch by the Arabs is of some importance. By comparing the years of the world in the chronography of Theophanes with the years of the Hegira in the history of Ebnacim, we shall determine, that it was taken between January 93d and September 1st, of the year of Christ 638, (Pagi Critica, in Baron. Annal. tom. ii. p. 812, 813.) Al Wakidi (Ockley, vol. i. p. 314.) assigns that event to Tuesday, August

C H A P. and obeyed. Her safety was ransomed with three
 LI. hundred thousand pieces of gold; but the throne
 of the successors of Alexander, the seat of the Roman government in the East, which had been decorated by Cæsar with the titles of free, and holy, and inviolate, was degraded under the yoke of the caliphs to the secondary rank of a provincial town*.

Flight of
 Heraclius,
 A. D. 638.

In the life of Heraclius, the glories of the Persian war are clouded on either hand by the disgrace and weakness of his more early and his later days. When the successors of Mahomet unsheathed the sword of war and religion, he was astonished at the boundless prospect of toil and danger; his nature was indolent, nor could the infirm and frigid age of the emperor be kindled to a second effort. The sense of shame; and the importunities of the Syrians, prevented his hasty departure from the scene of action; but the hero was no more; and the loss of Damascus and Jerusalem, the bloody fields of Aiznadin and Yernuk, may be imputed in some degree to the absence or misconduct of the sovereign. Instead of defending the sepulchre of Christ, he involved the church and state in a metaphysical controversy for the unity of his will; and while
 Heraclius

August 21st, an inconsistent date; since Easter fell that year on April 5th, the 21st of August must have been a Friday, (see the Tables of the Art de Verifier les Dates.)

* His bounteous edict, which tempted the grateful city to assume the victory of Pharsalia for a perpetual æra, is given in *Αἰτιοχιατὴ μητροπολεῖ, ἡρὰ καὶ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἀρχιερεῖσι καὶ προκαθήμενῃ τῆς ἀνατολῆς*. John Malela, in Chron. p. 91. edit. Venet. We may distinguish his authentic information of domestic facts from his gross ignorance of general history.

Heraclius crowned the offspring of his second nuptials, He was tamely stripped of the most valuable part of their inheritance. In the cathedral of Antioch, in the presence of the bishops, at the foot of the crucifix, he bewailed the sins of the prince and people; but his confession instructed the world; that it was vain, and perhaps impious, to resist the judgment of God. The Saracens were invincible in fact, since they were invincible in opinion; and the desertion of Youkinna, his false repentance and repeated perfidy, might justify the suspicion of the emperor, that he was encompassed by traitors and apostates, who conspired to betray his person and their country to the enemies of Christ. In the hour of adversity, his superstition was agitated by the omens and dreams of a falling crown; and after bidding an eternal farewell to Syria, he secretly embarked with a few attendants, and absolved the faith of his subjects *. Constantine, his eldest son, had been stationed with forty thousand men at Cæsarea, the civil metropolis of the three provinces of Palestine. But his private interest recalled him to the Byzantine court; and, after the flight of his father, he felt himself an unequal champion to the united force of the caliph. His vanguard was boldly attacked by three hundred Arabs and a thousand black slaves, who, in the depth

E e 2

of

* See Ockley, (vol. i. p. 308. 312.) who laughs at the credulity of his author. When Heraclius bade farewell to Syria, *Vale Syria et ultimum vale*, he prophesied that the Romans should never re-enter the province till the birth of an inauspicious child, the future scourge of the empire. Abulfeda, p. 68. I am perfectly ignorant of the mystic sense, or nonsense, of this prediction.

C. H. A. D. of winter, had climbed the snowy mountains of Libanus, and who were speedily followed by the victorious squadrons of Caled himself. From the north and south, the troops of Antioch and Jerusalem advanced along the sea-shore, till their banners were joined under the walls of the Phœnician cities: Tripoli and Tyre were betrayed; and a fleet of fifty transports, which entered without distrust the captive harbours, brought a seasonable supply of arms and provisions to the camp of the Saracens. Their labours were terminated by the unexpected surrender of Casarea. The Roman prince had embarked in the night,* and the defenceless citizens solicited their pardon with an offering of two hundred thousand pieces of gold. The remainder of the province, Ramlah, Paldemais, or Achre, Sichem, or Neapolis, Gaza, Ascalon, Berytus, Sidon, Gabala, Laodicea, Apamea, Hierapolis, no longer presumed to dispute the will of the conqueror; and Syria bowed under the sceptre of the calphs seven hundred years after Pompey had despoiled the last of the Macedonian kings †.

End of
the Syrian
war.

* In the loose and obscure chronology of the times, I am guided by an authentic record, (in the book of ceremonies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus,) which certifies, that, June 4, A. D. 638, the emperor crowned his younger son, Heraclius, in the presence of his eldest Constantine, and in the palace of Constantinople; that January 7, A. D. 639, the royal procession visited the great church, and on the 4th of the same month, the hippodrome.

† Sixty-five years before Christ, Syria Pontusque monumenta erat Cn. Pompeii virtutis, (Vell. Patercul. ii. 38.) rather of his fortune and power; he adjudged Syria to be a Roman province, and the last of the Seleucides were incapable of drawing a sword in the defence of their patrimony; (see the original texts collected by Usher, Annal. p. 420.)

The sieges and battles of six campaigns had consumed many thousands of the Muslims. They died with the reputation and the cheerfulness of martyrs; and the simplicity of their faith may be expressed in the words of an Arabian youth, when he embraced, for the last time, his sister and mother. "It is not," said he, "the delicacies of Syria, nor the fading delights of this world, that have prompted me to devote my life in the cause of religion. But I seek the favour of God, and of his apostle; and I have heard, from one of the companions of the prophet, that the spirits of the martyrs will be lodged in the crops of green birds, who shall taste the fruits, and drink of the rivers, of paradise. Farewel; we shall meet again among the groves and fountains which God has provided for his elect." The faithful captives might exercise a passive and more arduous resolution; and a cousin of Mahomet is celebrated for refusing, after an abstinence of three days, the wine and pork, the only nourishment that was allowed by the malice of the infidels. The frailty of some weaker brethren exasperated the implacable spirit of fanaticism; and the father of Amer deplored, in pathetic strains, the apostacy and damnation of a son, who had renounced the promises of God, and the intercession of the prophet, to occupy with the priests and deacons, the lowest mansions of hell. The more fortunate Arabs, who survived the war, and persevered in the faith, were restrained by their abstemious leader from the abuse of prosperity. After a refreshment of three days, Abd Obeidah withdrew his troops from the per-

CHAP.
LI.

The conquerors of Syria,
A. D.
633—639.

to the
Arabia

C H A P.

LI.

nicious contagion of the luxury of Antioch, and assured the caliph, that their religion and virtue could only be preserved by the hard discipline of poverty and labour. But the virtue of Omar, however rigorous to himself, was kind and liberal to his brethren. After a just tribute of praise and thanksgiving, he dropped a tear of compassion; and sitting down on the ground, wrote an answer, in which he mildly censured the severity of his lieutenant: "God," said the successor of the prophet, "has not forbidden the use of the good things of this world to faithful men, and such as have performed good works: Therefore, you ought to have given them leave to rest themselves, and partake freely of those good things which the country affordeth. If any of the Saracens have no family in Arabia, they may marry in Syria; and whosoever of them wants any female slaves, he may purchase as many as he hath occasion for." The conquerors prepared to use, or to abuse, this gracious permission; but the year of their triumph was marked by a mortality of men and cattle; and twenty-five thousand Saracens were snatched away from the possession of Syria. The death of Abu Obeidah might be lamented by the Christians; but his brethren recollected that he was one of the ten elect whom the prophet had named as the heirs of paradise*. Called

* Abulfeda, Annal. Moslem. p. 73. Mahomet could artfully vary the praises of his disciples. Of Omar he was accustomed to say, that if a prophet could arise after himself, it would be Omar; and that in a general calamity, Omar would be excepted by the divine justice; (Ockley, vol. 1. p. 221.)

led survived his brethren about three years ; and the tomb of the sword of God is shewn in the neighbourhood of Emesa. His valour, which founded in Arabia and Syria the empire of the caliphs, was fortified by the opinion of a special providence ; and as long as he wore a cap, which had been blessed by Mahomet, he deemed himself invulnerable amidst the darts of the infidels.

C H A P.
LI.

The place of the first conquerors was supplied by a new generation of their children and countrymen ; Syria became the seat and support of the house of Ommiyah ; and the revenue, the soldiers, the ships of that powerful kingdom, were consecrated to enlarge on every side the empire of the caliphs. But the Saracens despise a superfluity of fame ; and their historians scarcely condescend to mention the subordinate conquests which are lost in the splendour and rapidity of their victorious career. To the *north* of Syria, they passed mount Taurus, and reduced to their obedience the province of Cilicia, with its capital Tarsus, the ancient monument of the Assyrian kings. Beyond a second ridge of the same mountains, they spread the flame of war, rather than the light of religion, as far as the shores of the Euxine and the neighbourhood of Constantinople. To the *east* they advanced to the banks and sources of the Euphrates and Tigris * : The long disputed barrier of Rome

Progress
of the Sy-
rian con-
querors,
A. D.
639—655.

E e 4 and

* Al Wakidi had likewise written an history of the conquest of Diarbekir, or Mesopotamia, (Ockley, at the end of the 2d. vol.) which our interpreters do not appear to have seen. The Chronicle of Dionysius of Telmar, the Jacobite patriarch, records the taking of Edessa, A.D. 637; and of Dara, A.D. 641 : (Asseman,

CHAP. II. and Persia was for ever confounded, the walls of Edessa and Amida, of Dara and Nisibis, which had resisted the arms and engines of Sapor or Nu-shirvan, were levelled in the dust; and the holy city of Abgarus might vainly produce the epistle of the image of Christ to an unbelieving conqueror. To the west, the Syrian kingdom is bounded by the sea; and the ruin of Aradus, a small island or peninsula on the coast, was postponed during ten years. But the hills of Libanus abounded in timber, the trade of Phœnicia was populous in merchants; and a fleet of seventeen hundred barks was equipped and manned by the natives of the desert. The Imperial navy of the Romans fled before them from the Pamphylian rocks to the Hellespont; but the spirit of the emperor, a grandson of Heraclius, had been subdued before the combat by a dream and a pun*. The Saracens rode masters of the sea; and the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Cyclades, were successively exposed to their rapacious visits. Three hundred years before the Christian æra, the memorable though fruitless siege of Rhodes† by Demetrius had furnished that

(Asseman: Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 103.) and the attentive may glean some doubtful information from the Chronography of Theophanes, (p. 285—287.) Most of the towns of Mesopotamia yielded by surrender. (Abulpharag. p. 112.)

* He dreamed that he was at Thessalonica, an harmless and unmeaning vision; but his soothsayer, or his cowardice, understood the sure omen of a defeat concealed in that inauspicious word *ἡ ἀλλοτρίαν*. Give to another the victory. (Theophan. p. 286. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 88.)

† Every passage and every fact that relates to the island, the city, and the colossus of Rhodes, are compiled in the laborious treatise of Meursius, who has bestowed the same diligence on the two larger islands of Crete and Cyprus. See in the 3d vol.

(111) q. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

maritime republic with the materials and the subject of a trophy. A gigantic statue of Apollo or the sun, seventy cubits in height, was erected at the entrance of the harbour, a monument of the freedom and the arts of Greece. After standing fifty-six years, the colossus of Rhodes was overthrown by an earthquake; but the massy trunk, and large fragments, lay scattered eight centuries on the ground, and are often described as one of the wonders of the ancient world. They were collected by the diligence of the Saracens, and sold to a Jewish merchant of Edessa, who is said to have laden nine hundred camels with the weight of the brass metal. An enormous weight, though we should include the hundred colossal figures, and the three thousand statues, which adorned the prosperity of the city of the sun.

III. The conquest of Egypt may be explained by the character of the victorious Saracen, one of the first of his nation, in an age when the meanest of the brethren was exalted above his nature by the spirit of enthusiasm. The birth of Amrou was at once base and illustrious: His mother, a notorious prostitute, was unable to decide among five of the Koreish; but the proof of resemblance adjudged the child to Aasi, the oldest of her lovers †. The youth

EGYPT.
Character
and life of
Amrou.

of his works, the *Rhodus* of Meursius, (l. i. c. 15. p. 715—719.) The Byzantine writers, Theophanes and Constantine, have ignorantly prolonged the term to 1360 years, and ridiculously divide the weight among 30,000 camels.

* Centum colossi alium nobilitaturi locum, says Pliny, with his usual spirit. Hist. Natur. xxiv. 18.

† We learn this anecdote from a spirited old woman, who reviled to their face the caliph and his friend. She was encouraged by the silence of Amrou and the liberality of Moawiyah, (Abulfeda, Annal. Moslem. p. 111.)

CHAB. youth of Amrou was impelled by the passions and
 LI. prejudices of his kindred : His poetic genius was
 exercised in satirical verses against the person and
 doctrine of Mahomet ; his dexterity was employ-
 ed by the reigning faction to pursue the religious
 exiles who had taken refuge in the court of the
 Ethiopian king *. Yet he returned from this
 embassy a secret proselyte ; his reason or his in-
 terest determined him to renounce the worship of
 idols ; he escaped from Mecca with his friend Ca-
 led, and the prophet of Medina enjoyed at the
 same moment the satisfaction of embracing the two
 firmest champions of his cause. The impatience
 of Amrou to lead the armies of the faithful was
 checked by the reproof of Omar, who advised
 him not to seek power and dominion, since he
 who is a subject to-day, may be a prince to-mor-
 row. Yet his merit was not overlooked by the two
 first successors of Mahomet ; they were indebted
 to his arms for the conquest of Palestine ; and in
 all the battles and sieges of Syria, he united with
 the temper of a chief, the valour of an adventurous
 soldier. In a visit to Medina, the caliph express-
 ed a wish to survey the sword which had cut down
 so many Christian warriors : The son of Aasi un-
 sheathed a short and ordinary scymetar ; and as
 he perceived the surprise of Omar, " Alas," said
 the modest Saracen, " the sword itself, without the
 " arm of its master, is neither sharper nor more
 " weighty than the sword of Pharezdak the
 " poet."

* Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 46, &c. who quotes the Abyssinian history, or romance, of Abdel Balcides. Yet the fact of the embassy and ambassador may be allowed.

“poet*.” After the conquest of Egypt, he was recalled by the jealousy of the caliph Othman; but in the subsequent troubles, the ambition of a soldier, a statesman, and an orator, emerged from a private station. His powerful support, both in council and in the field, established the throne of the Ommiades; the administration and revenue of Egypt were restored by the gratitude of Moawiyah to a faithful friend, who had raised himself above the rank of a subject; and Amrou ended his days in the palace and city which he had founded on the banks of the Nile. His dying speech to his children is celebrated by the Arabians as a model of eloquence and wisdom: He deplored the errors of his youth; but if the penitent was still infected by the vanity of a poet, he might exaggerate the venom and mischief of his impious compositions †.

From his camp, in Palestine, Amrou had surprised or anticipated the caliph's leave for the invasion of Egypt ‡. The magnanimous Omar trusted in his God and his sword, which had shaken

Invasion
of Egypt,
A. D. 638.
June.

* This saying is preserved by Pocock, (Not. ad Carmen Tograi, p. 184.) and justly applauded by Mr Harris; (Philosophical Arrangements, p. 350.)

† For the life and character of Amrou, see Ockley, (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 28. 63. 94. 328. 342. 344. and to the end of the volume; vol. ii. p. 51. 55. 57. 74. 110—112. 162.) and Otter, (Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxi. p. 131, 132.) The readers of Tacitus may aptly compare Vespasian and Mucianus, with Moawiyah and Amrou. Yet the resemblance is still more in the situation, than in the characters of the men.

‡ Al Wakidi had likewise composed a separate history of the conquest of Egypt, which Mr Ockley could never procure; and

6 H A P. shaken the thrones of Chosroes and Cesar; but

II. when he compared the slender force of the Mos-

lems with the greatness of the enterprise, he con-

demned his own rashness, and listened to his timid

companions. The pride and the greatness of Pha-

raoh were familiar to the readers of the Koran;

and a tenfold repetition of prodiges had been

scarcely sufficient to effect, not the victory, but

the flight of six hundred thousand of the children

of Israel. The cities of Egypt were many and po-

pulous; their architecture was strong and solid;

the Nile, with its numerous branches, was alone an

insuperable barrier; and the granary of the Im-

perial city would be obstinately defended by the

Roman powers. In this perplexity, the com-

mander of the faithful resigned himself to the de-

cision of chance, or, in his opinion, of providence!

At the head of only four thousand Arabs, the in-

trrepid Amrou had marched away from his station

of Gaza, when he was overtaken by the messenger

of Omar. "If you are still in Syria," said the

ambiguous mandate, "retreat without delay; but

"if, at the receipt of this epistle, you have al-

"ready reached the frontiers of Egypt, advanced

"with confidence, and depend on the succour of

"God and of your brethren." The experience,

perhaps the secret intelligence, of Amrou, had

taught him to suspect the mutability of courts;

and his own inquiries (vol. i. p. 344-362.) have added very

little to the original text of Eutychius. (Annal. tom. i. p. 296-

323. vers. Pocock,) the Melchite patriarch of Alexandria, who lived three hundred years after the revolution,

and he continued his march till his tents were unquestionably pitched on Egyptian ground. He there assembled his officers, broke the seal, perused the epistle, gravely inquired the name and situation of the place, and declared his ready obedience to the commands of the caliph. After a siege of thirty days, he took possession of Farmah or Pelusium; and that key of Egypt, as it has been justly named, unlocked the entrance of the country as far as the ruins of Heliopolis and the neighbourhood of the modern Cairo.

On the western side of the Nile, at a small distance to the east of the Pyramids, at a small distance to the south of the Delta, Memphis, one hundred and fifty furlongs in circumference, displayed the magnificence of ancient kings. Under the reign of the Ptolemies and Cæsars, the seat of government was removed to the sea-coast; the ancient capital was eclipsed by the arts and opulence of Alexandria; the palaces, and at length the temples, were reduced to a desolate and ruinous condition. Yet in the age of Augustus, and even in that of Constantine, Memphis was still numbered among the greatest and most populous of the provincial cities*. The banks of the Nile, in this place of the breadth of three thousand feet,

The cities of Memphis, Babylon, and Cairo.

were

* Strabo, an accurate and attentive spectator, observes of Heliopolis, *οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ ἢ πόλις*, (Geograph. l. xvii. p. 1158.) but of Memphis, he declares, *πόλις δὲ ἐστὶ μεγάλη τε καὶ πλούσια, διεσπασμένη καὶ ἀποβυθισμένη*, (p. 1161.) he notices, however, the mixture of inhabitants, and the ruin of the palaces. In the proper Egypt, Ammianus enumerates Memphis among the four cities, *maximas urbes quibus provincia nitet*, (xxvii. 16.) and the name of Memphis appears with distinction in the Roman Itinerary and Episcopal lists.

CHAP. were united by two bridges of sixty and of thirty
 LI. boats, connected in the middle stream by the
 small island of Rouda, which was covered with
 gardens and habitations *. The eastern extre-
 mity of the bridge was terminated by the town of
 Babylon and the camp of a Roman legion, which
 protected the passage of the river, and the second
 capital of Egypt. This important fortress, which
 might fairly be described as a part of Memphis, or
Misrah, was invested by the arms of the lieutenant
 of Omar: A reinforcement of four thousand Sara-
 cens soon arrived in his camp; and the military
 engines, which battered the walls, may be imputed
 to the art and labour of his Syrian allies. Yet the
 siege was protracted to seven months; and the rash
 invaders were encompassed and threatened by the
 inundation of the Nile †. Their last assault was
 bold and successful: They passed the ditch, which
 had been fortified with iron spikes, applied their
 scaling-ladders, entered the fortress with the shout
 of "God is victorious!" and drove the remnant
 of the Greeks to their boats and the isle of Rouda.
 The spot was afterwards recommended to the con-
 queror by the easy communication with the gulf and
 the

* These rare and curious facts, the breadth (2946 feet) and the bridge of the Nile, are only to be found in the Danish traveller and the Nubian geographer, (p. 98.)

† From the month of April, the Nile begins imperceptibly to rise; the swell becomes strong and visible in the moon after the summer solstice, (Plin. Hist. Nat. v. 10.) and is usually proclaimed at Cairo on St Peter's day, (June 29.) A register of thirty successive years marks the greatest height of the waters between July 25. and August 18. (Maillet, Description de l'Egypte, lettre xi. p. 67, &c. Pocock's Description of the East, vol. i. p. 200. Shaw's Travels, p. 383.)

the peninsula of Arabia : The remains of Memphis C H A P. LI. were deserted ; the tents of the Arabs were converted into permanent habitations ; and the first mosch was blessed by the presence of fourscore companions of Mahomet *. A new city arose in their camp on the eastward bank of the Nile ; and the contiguous quarters of Babylon and Fostat are confounded in their present decay by the appellation of old Misrah or Cairo, of which they form an extensive suburb. But the name of Cairo, the town of victory, more strictly belongs to the modern capital, which was founded in the tenth century by the Fatimite caliphs †. It has gradually receded from the river, but the continuity of buildings may be traced by an attentive eye from the monuments of Sesostris to those of Saladin ‡.

Yet the Arabs, after a glorious and profitable enterprise, must have retreated to the desert, had they not found a powerful alliance in the heart of the Voluntary submission of the Copts or Jacobites, A.D. 638.

* Murtadi, *Merveilles de l'Egypte*, p. 243—259. He expatiates on the subject with the zeal and minuteness of a citizen and a bigot, and his local traditions have a strong air of truth and accuracy.

† D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 233.

‡ The position of New and of Old Cairo is well known, and has been often described. Two writers who were intimately acquainted with ancient and modern Egypt, have fixed, after a learned inquiry, the city of Memphis at *Gizeh*, directly opposite the old Cairo, (Sicard, *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions du Levant*, tom. vi. p. 5, 6. Shaw's *Observations and Travels*, p. 296—304.) Yet we may not disregard the authority or the arguments of Pocock, (vol. i. p. 25—41.) Niebuhr, (*Voyage*, tom. i. 77.—106.) and, above all, of D'Anville, (*Description de l'Egypte*, p. 111, 112, 130—149.) who have removed Memphis towards the village of Mohannah, some miles farther to the south. In their heat, the disputants have forgot that the ample space of a metropolis covers and annihilates the far greater part of the controversy.

CHAP. the country. The rapid conquest of Alexander
 LI. was assisted by the superstition and revolt of the
 natives; they abhorred their Persian oppressors,
 the disciples of the Magi, who had burnt the temples
 of Egypt, and feasted with sacrilegious appetite on
 the flesh of the god Apis *. After a period of
 ten centuries the same revolution was renewed by
 a similar cause; and in the support of an incom-
 prehensible creed, the zeal of the Coptic Christians
 was equally ardent. I have already explained the
 origin and progress of the Monophysite contro-
 versy, and the persecution of the emperors which
 converted a sect into a nation, and alienated Egypt
 from their religion and government. The Sar-
 cens were received as the deliverers of the Jacob-
 ite church; and a secret and effectual treaty was
 opened during the siege of Memphis, between a
 victorious army and a people of slaves. A rich
 and noble Egyptian, of the name of Mokawkas,
 had dissembled his faith to obtain the administra-
 tion of his province: In the disorders of the Persian
 war he aspired to independence; the embassy of
 Mahomet ranked him among princes; but he de-
 clined, with rich gifts and ambiguous compliments,
 the proposal of a new religion †. The abuse of
 his

* See Herodotus, l. iii. c. 27, 28, 29. *Ælian*, Hist. Var. l. iv. c. 8. *Snidas* in *Ωξες*, tom. ii. p. 774. *Diodor*. Sicil. tom. ii. l. xvii. p. 197. edit. Wesseling. *Τὰς Περσῶν ἐκείνων ἐκείνην*, says the last of these historians.

† Mokawkas sent the prophet two Coptic damsels, with two maids, and one eunuch, an alabaster vase, an ingot of pure gold, oil, honey, and the finest white linen of Egypt, with an horse, a mule, and an ass, distinguished by their respective qua-
 lifications.

his trust exposed him to the resentment of Heraclius; his submission was delayed by arrogance and fear; and his conscience was prompted by interest to throw himself on the favour of the nation, and the support of the Saracens. In his first conference with Amrou, he heard without indignation, the usual option of the Koran, the tribute, or the sword. "The Greeks," replied Mokawkas, "are determined to abide the determination of the sword; but with the Greeks I desire no communion, either in this world or in the next, and I abjure for ever the Byzantine tyrant, his synod of Chalcedon, and his Melchite slaves. For myself and my brethren, we are resolved to live and die in the profession of the gospel and unity of Christ. It is impossible for us to embrace the revelations of your prophet; but we are desirous of peace, and cheerfully submit to pay tribute and obedience to his temporal successors." The tribute was ascertained at two pieces of gold for the head of every Christian; but old men, monks, women, and children, of both sexes, under sixteen years of age, were exempted from this personal assessment; the Copts above and below Memphis swore allegiance to the caliph, and promised an hospitable entertainment of three days to every Mussulman who should travel through their country. By this charter of security, the ecclesiastical and civil tyranny of the Melchites was destroyed *; the

Vol. IX.

F f

anathemas

fications. The embassy of Mahomet was dispatched from Medina in the seventh year of the Hegira, (A. D. 628.) See Gagnier, (Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 255, 256, 303.) from Al Jannabi.

* The præfecture of Egypt, and the conduct of the war, had been trusted by Heraclius to the patriarch Cyrus, (Theophan.

p. 280,

CHAP. anathemes of St. Cyril were thundered from every
 II. pulpit; and the sacred edifices, with the patri-
 mony of the church, were restored to the national
 communion of the Jacobites, who enjoyed without
 moderation the moment of triumph and revenge.
 At the pressing summons of Amrou, their patri-
 arch Benjamin emerged from his desert; and, after
 the first interview, the courteous Arab affected to
 declare, that he had never conversed with a Chris-
 tian priest of more innocent manners and a more
 venerable aspect *. In the march from Mem-
 phis to Alexandria, the lieutenant of Omar en-
 trusted his safety to the zeal and gratitude of the
 Egyptians; the roads and bridges were diligently
 repaired; and in every step of his progress, he
 could depend on a constant supply of provisions
 and intelligence. The Greeks of Egypt, whose
 numbers could scarcely equal a tenth of the natives,
 were overwhelmed by the universal defection; they
 had ever been hated, they were no longer feared;
 the magistrate fled from his tribunal, the bishop
 from his altar; and the distant garrisons were sur-
 prised or starved by the surrounding multitudes.
 Had not the Nile afforded a safe and ready con-
 veyance to the sea, not an individual could have
 escaped,

p. 280, 281.) "In Spain," said James II. "do you not con-
 sult your priests?" "We do," replied the Catholic ambassa-
 dor, "and our affairs succeed accordingly." I know not how
 to relate the plans of Cyrus, of paying tribute without impair-
 ing the revenue, and of converting Omar by his marriage with
 the emperor's daughter, (Nicephor. Bréviar. p. 17, 18.)

* See the life of Benjamin, in Renaudot, (Hist. Patriarch.
 Alexandrin. p. 156-172.) who has enriched the conquest of
 Egypt with some facts from the Arabic text of Severus, the
 Jacobite historian.

escaped; who by birth, or language, or office, or religion, was connected with their odious name; C H A P. LIJ

By the retreat of the Greeks from the provinces of Upper Egypt, a considerable force was collected in the island of Delta. The natural and artificial channels of the Nile afforded a succession of strong and defensible posts; and the road to Alexandria was laboriously cleared by the victory of the Saracens in two and twenty days of general or partial combat. In their annals of conquest, the siege of Alexandria * is perhaps the most arduous and important enterprise. The first trading city in the world was abundantly replenished with the means of subsistence and defence. Her numerous inhabitants fought for the dearest of human rights, religion and property; and the enmity of the natives seemed to exclude them from the common benefit of peace and toleration. The sea was continually open; and if Heraclius had been awake to the public distress, fresh armies of Romans and Barbarians might have been poured into the harbour to save the second capital of the empire. A circumference of ten miles would have scattered the forces of the Greeks, and favoured the stratagems of an active enemy; but the two sides of an oblong square were covered by the sea and the lake Ma-

Siege and conquest of Alexandria.

F f 2

ræotis,

* The local description of Alexandria is perfectly ascertained by the master hand of the first of geographers; (d'Anville, *Mémoire sur l'Égypte*, p. 52—63.) but we may borrow the eyes of the modern travellers, more especially of Thevenot, (*Voyage au Levant*, part i. p. 381—395.) Pocock, (vol. i. p. 2—13.) and Niebuhr, (*Voyage en Arabie*, tom. i. p. 34—43.) Of the two modern rivals, Savary and Volney, the one may amuse, the other will instruct.

C. H. A. P. II. **II.**

raotis, and each of the narrow ends exposed a front of no more than ten furlongs. The efforts of the Arabs were not inadequate to the difficulty of the attempt and the value of the prize. From the throne of Medina, the eyes of Omar were fixed on the camp and city : His voice excited to arms the Arabian tribes and the veterans of Syria ; and the merit of an holy war was recommended by the peculiar fame and fertility of Egypt. Anxious for the ruin or expulsion of their tyrants, the faithful natives devoted their labours to the service of Amrou; some sparks of martial spirit were perhaps rekindled by the example of their allies ; and the sanguine hopes of Mokawkas had fixed his sepulchre in the church of St John of Alexandria. Eutychius the patriarch observes, that the Saracens fought with the courage of lions ; they repulsed the frequent and almost daily sallies of the besieged, and soon assaulted in their turn the walls and towers of the city. In every attack, the sword, the banner of Amrou, glittered in the van of the Moslems. On a memorable day, he was betrayed by his imprudent valour : His followers who had entered the citadel were driven back ; and the general, with a friend and a slave, remained a prisoner in the hands of the Christians. When Amrou was conducted before the prefect, he remembered his dignity and forgot his situation ; a lofty demeanour, and resolute language, revealed the lieutenant of the caliph, and the battle-axe of a soldier was already raised to strike off the head of the audacious captive. His life was saved by the readiness of his slave, who instantly gave his master a blow on the face, and commanded him, with an

angry tone, to be silent in the presence of his superiors. The credulous Greek was deceived; he listened to the offer of a treaty, and his prisoners were dismissed in the hope of a more respectable embassy, till the joyful acclamations of the camp announced the return of their general, and insulted the folly of the infidels. At length, after a siege of fourteen months*, and the loss of three and twenty thousand men, the Saracens prevailed: The Greeks embarked their dispirited and diminished numbers, and the standard of Mahomet was planted on the walls of the capital of Egypt. "I have taken," said Amrou to the caliph, "the great city of the West. It is impossible for me to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty; and I shall content myself with observing, that it contains four thousand palaces, four thousand baths, four hundred theatres or places of amusement, twelve thousand shops for the sale of vegetable food, and forty thousand tributary Jews. The town has been subdued by force of arms, without treaty or capitulation, and the Moslems are impatient to seize the fruits of their victory†." The commander of the faithful re-

F f 3

jected

* Both Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 319.) and Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 28.) concur in fixing the taking of Alexandria to Friday of the new moon of Moharram of the twentieth year of the Hegira. (December 22. A. D. 640.) In reckoning backwards fourteen months spent before Alexandria, seven months before Babylon, &c. Amrou might have invaded Egypt about the end of the year 638; but we are assured, that he entered the country the 12th of Rayn, 6th of June, (Mur-tadi, Merveilles de l'Egypte, p. 164. Severus, rapid. Renaudot, p. 162.) The Saracen, and afterwards Lewis IX. of France, halted at Pelusium, or Damietta, during the season of the inundation of the Nile.

† Eutych. Annal. tom. ii. p. 316. 319.

CHAP. LI. jected with firmness the idea of pillage, and directed his lieutenant to reserve the wealth and revenue of Alexandria for the public service and the propagation of the faith. The inhabitants were numbered; a tribute was imposed; the zeal and resentment of the Jacobites were curbed, and the Melchites who submitted to the Arabian yoke were indulged in the obscure but tranquil exercise of their worship. The intelligence of this disgraceful and calamitous event afflicted the declining health of the emperor; and Heraclius died of a dropsy about seven weeks after the loss of Alexandria *. Under the minority of his grandson, the clamours of a people, deprived of their daily sustenance, compelled the Byzantine court to undertake the recovery of the capital of Egypt. In the space of four years, the harbour and fortifications of Alexandria were twice occupied by a fleet and army of Romans. They were twice expelled by the valour of Amrou, who was recalled by the domestic peril from the distant wars of Tripoli and Nubia. But the facility of the attempt, the repetition of the insult, and the obstinacy of the resistance, provoked him to swear, that if a third time he drove the infidels into the sea, he would render Alexandria as accessible on all sides as the house of a prostitute. Faithful to his promise, he dismantled several parts of the
walk

* Notwithstanding some inconsistencies of Theophanes and Cedrenus, the accuracy of Pagi (*Critica*, tom. ii. p. 824.) has extracted from Nicephorus and the *Chronicon Orientale*, the true date of the death of Heraclius, February, 11. A. D. 641. fifty days after the loss of Alexandria. A fourth of that time was sufficient to convey the intelligence.

walls and towers, but the people was spared in the chastisement of the city, and the mosch of *Mercy* was erected on the spot where the victorious general had stopped the fury of his troops.

I should deceive the expectation of the reader, if I passed in silence the fate of the Alexandrian library, as it is described by the learned Abulpharagius. The spirit of Amrou was more curious and liberal than that of his brethren, and in his leisure hours, the Arabian chief was pleased with the conversation of John, the last disciple of Ammonius, and who derived the surname of *Philoponus*, from his laborious studies of grammar and philosophy*. Emboldened by this familiar intercourse, Philoponus presumed to solicit a gift, inestimable in *his* opinion, contemptible in that of the Barbarians; the royal library, which alone, among the spoils of Alexandria, had not been appropriated by the visit and the seal of the conqueror. Amrou was inclined to gratify the wish of the grammarian, but his rigid integrity refused to alienate the minutest object without the consent of the caliph; and the well-known answer of Omar was inspired by the ignorance of a fanatic. "If these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useless and need not be preserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious and ought to be

F f 4

"destroyed."

* Many treatises of this lover of labour (*φιλοπονος*) are still extant; but for readers of the present age, the printed and unpublished are nearly in the same predicament. Moses and Aristotle are the chief objects of his verbose commentaries, one of which is dated as early as May 10th, A. D. 617. (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. ix. p. 458—468.) A modern, (John Le Clerc) who sometimes assumed the same name, was equal to old Philoponus in diligence, and far superior in good sense and real knowledge.

C H A P.

LI.

The Alexandrian library.

CHAB. "destroyed." The sentence was executed with
 .LI. blind obedience; the volumes of paper or parch-
 ment were distributed to the four thousand baths of
 the city; and such was their incredible multitude,
 that six months were barely sufficient for the con-
 sumption of this precious fuel. Since the Dynasties
 of Abulpharagius * have been given to the world
 in a Latin version, the tale has been repeatedly
 transcribed; and every scholar, with pious indig-
 nation, has deplored the irreparable shipwreck of
 the learning, the arts, and the genius, of antiquity.
 For my own part, I am strongly tempted to deny
 both the fact and the consequences. The fact is
 indeed marvellous; "Read and wonder" says
 the historian himself; and the solitary report of a
 stranger who wrote at the end of six hundred years
 on the confines of Media, is overbalanced by the
 silence of two annalists of a more early date, both
 Christians, both natives of Egypt, and the most
 ancient of whom, the patriarch Eutychius, has
 amply described the conquest of Alexandria †.
 The rigid sentence of Omar is repugnant to the
 sound and orthodox precept of the Mahometan ca-
 suists; they expressly declare, that the religious
 books of the Jews and Christians, which are ac-
 quired

* Abulpharag. Dynast. p. 114. vers. Pocock. Audi quid fac-
 tum sit et mirare. It would be endless to enumerate the mo-
 derns who have wondered and believed, but I may distinguish
 with honour the rational scepticism of Renaudot, (Hist. Alex.
 Patriarch. p. 170.) historia . . . habet aliquid ~~arabum~~ Ara-
 bibus familiare est.

† This curious anecdote will be vainly sought in the annals
 of Eutychius and the Saracenic history of Elmacin. The
 silence of Abulfeda, Murtadi, and a crowd of Moslems, is less
 conclusive from their ignorance of Christian literature.

quired by the right of war, should never be committed to the flames; and that the works of profound science, historians or poets, physicians or philosophers, may be lawfully applied to the use of the faithful *. A more destructive zeal may perhaps be attributed to the first successors of Mahomet; yet in this instance, the conflagration would have speedily expired in the deficiency of materials. I shall not recapitulate the disasters of the Alexandrian library, the involuntary flame that was kindled by Cæsar in his own defence †, or the mischievous bigotry of the Christians who studied to destroy the monuments of idolatry ‡. But if we gradually descend from the age of the Antonines to that of Theodosius, we shall learn from a chain of contemporary witnesses, that the royal palace and the temple of Serapis no longer contained the four, or the seven, hundred thousand volumes, which had been assembled by the curiosity and magnificence of the Ptolemies §. Perhaps the church

* See Reland, de Jure Militari Mohammedanorum, in his third volume of Dissertations, p. 37. The reason for not burning the religious books of the Jews or Christians, is derived from the respect that is due to the *name* of God.

† Consult the collections of Frensheim, (Supplement. Livian. c. 12. 43.) and Usher, (Annal. p. 469.) Livy himself had stiled the Alexandrian library, *elegantia regum curaque egregium opus*; a liberal encomium, for which he is partly criticised by the narrow stoicism of Seneca, (De Tranquillitate Animi, c. 9.) whose wisdom, on this occasion, deviates into nonsense.

‡ See this History, vol. v. p. 111.

§ Aulus Gellius, (Noctes Atticæ, vi. 17.) Ammianus Marcellinus, (xxii. 16.) and Orosius, (l. vi. c. 15.) They all speak in the *post tunc*; and the words of Ammianus are remarkably strong; fuerunt Bibliothecæ innumerabiles; et loquitur monumentorum veterum concinens fides, &c.

CHAP. LI. church and seat of the patriarch might be enriched with a repository of books; but if the ponderous mass of Arian and Monophysite controversy were indeed consumed in the public baths*, a philosopher may allow, with a smile, that it was ultimately devoted to the benefit of mankind. I sincerely regret the more valuable libraries which have been involved in the ruin of the Roman empire; but when I seriously compute the lapse of ages, the waste of ignorance, and the calamities of war, our treasures, rather than our losses, are the object of my surprise. Many curious and interesting facts are buried in oblivion; the three great historians of Rome have been transmitted to our hands in a mutilated state, and we are deprived of many pleasing compositions of the lyric, iambic, and dramatic poetry of the Greeks. Yet we should gratefully remember, that the mischances of time and accident have spared the classic works to which the suffrage of antiquity † had adjudged the first place of genius and glory; the teachers of ancient knowledge, who are still extant, had perused and compared the writings of their predecessors ‡;

* Renaudot answers for versions of the Bible, *Exempla Catena Patrum*, Commentaries, &c. (p. 170.) Our Alexandrian MS. if it came from Egypt, and not from Constantinople or mount Athos, (Westein, *Prolegom.* ad N. T. p. 8, &c.) might possibly be among them.

† I have often perused with pleasure a chapter of Quintilian, (*Institut. Orator.* x. 1.) in which that judicious critic enumerates and appreciates the series of Greek and Latin classics.

‡ Such as Galen, Pliny, Aristotle, &c. On this subject Wotton (*Reflections on ancient and modern Learning*, p. 85—95.) argues with solid sense against the lively exotic fancies of

nor can it fairly be presumed that any important C H A P.
truth, any useful discovery in art or nature, has II.
been snatched away from the curiosity of modern
ages.

In the administration of Egypt *, Amrou balanced the demands of justice and policy; the interest of the people of the law, who were defended by God; and of the people of the alliance, who were protected by man. In the recent tumult of conquest and deliverance, the tongue of the Copts and the sword of the Arabs were most adverse to the tranquillity of the province. To the former, Amrou declared, that faction and falsehood would be doubly chastised; by the punishment of the accusers, whom he should detest as his personal enemies, and by the promotion of their innocent brethren, whom their envy had laboured to injure and supplant. He excited the latter by the motives of religion and honour to sustain the dignity of their character, to endear themselves by a modest and temperate conduct to God and the caliph, to spare and protect a people who had trusted to their faith, and to content themselves with the legitimate and splendid rewards of their victory. In the management of the revenue he disapproved the simple but oppressive mode of a capitation, and preferred with reason a proportion of taxes, deducted

Admini-
stration of
Egypt.

of Sir William Temple. The contempt of the Greeks for *Barbaric* science, would scarcely admit the Indian or *Æthiopic* books into the library of Alexandria; nor is it proved that philosophy has sustained any real loss from their exclusion.

* This curious and authentic intelligence of Murtadi (p. 284—289.) has not been discovered either by Mr Ockley, or by the self-sufficient compilers of the Modern Universal History.

CHAF. ducted on every branch from the clear profits of
 LL. agriculture and commerce. A third part of the
 tribute was appropriated to the annual repairs of
 the dykes and canals, so essential to the public
 welfare. Under his administration the fertility of
 Egypt supplied the dearth of Arabia; and a string
 of camels, laden with corn and provisions, covered
 almost without an interval the long road from
 Memphis to Medina *. But the genius of Amrou
 soon renewed the maritime communication which
 had been attempted or atchieved by the Pharaohs,
 the Ptolemies, or the Cæsars; and a canal, at least
 eighty miles in length, was opened from the Nile
 to the Red Sea. This inland navigation, which
 would have joined the Mediterranean and the In-
 dian ocean, was soon discontinued as useless and
 dangerous: The throne was removed from Me-
 dina to Damascus; and the Grecian fleets might
 have explored a passage to the holy cities of
 Arabia †.

Riches
 and popu-
 lousness.

Of his new conquest, the caliph Omar had an
 imperfect knowledge from the voice of fame and
 the legends of the Koran. He requested that his
 lieutenant would place before his eyes the realm of
 Pharaoh and the Amalekites; and the answer of
 Amrou exhibits a lively and not unfaithful picture
 of

* Euty chius, Annal. tom. ii. p. 320. Elmacin; Hist. Sa-
 racen. p. 35.

† On these *obscure* canals, the reader may try to satisfy him-
 self from d'Anville, (Mem. sur l'Égypte, pl. 108—110, 114,
 132.) and a learned thesis maintained and printed at Strasburg
 in the year 1770. (Jungendorum marium finiviorumque molimi-
 na, p. 39—47. 68—70.) Even the *supine* Turks have agitated
 the old project of joining the two seas. (Mémoires du Baron de
 Tott, tom. iv.)

of that singular country *. O commander of the faithful, Egypt is a compound of black earth and green plants, between a pulverised mountain and a red sand. The distance from Syene to the sea is a month's journey for an horseman. Along the valley descends a river, on which the blessing of the Most High reposes both in the evening and morning, and which rises and falls with the revolutions of the sun and moon. When the annual dispensation of providence unlocks the springs and fountains that nourish the earth, the Nile rolls his swelling and sounding waters through the realm of Egypt: The fields are overspread by the salutary flood; and the villages communicate with each other in their painted barks. The retreat of the inundation deposits a fertilizing mud for the reception of the various seeds: The crowds of husbandmen who blacken the land may be compared to a swarm of industrious ants; and their native indolence is quickened by the lash of the task-master, and the promise of the flowers and fruits of a plentiful increase. Their hope is seldom deceived; but the riches which they extract from the wheat, the barley, and the rice, the legumes, the fruit-trees, and the cattle, are unequally shared between those who labour and those

* A small volume, des Merveilles, &c. de l'Egypte, composed in the thirteenth century by Murtadi of Cairo, and translated from an Arabic MS. of Cardinal Mazarin, was published by Pierre Vattier, Paris, 1666. The antiquities of Egypt are wild and legendary: But the writer deserves credit and esteem for his account of the conquest and geography of his native country. (See the correspondence of Amrou and Omar, p. 279—289.)

CHAP. "those who possess. According to the vicissitudes
 LI. "of the seasons, the face of the country is adorned
 — "with a *silver wave*, a *verdant emerald*; and the
 "deep yellow of a *golden harvest* *.) Yet this
 beneficial order is sometimes interrupted; and the
 long delay and sudden swell of the river in the first
 year of the conquest might afford some colour to
 an edifying fable. It is said, that the annual sa-
 crifice of a virgin † had been interdicted by the
 piety of Omar; and that the Nile lay sullen and
 inactive in his shallow bed, till the mandate of the
 caliph was cast into the obedient stream, which rose
 in a single night to the height of sixteen cubits.
 The admiration of the Arabs for their new con-
 quest encouraged the license of their romantic
 spirit. We may read, in the gravest authors, that
 Egypt was crowded with twenty thousand cities
 or villages ‡; that, exclusive of the Greeks and
 Arabs,

* In a twenty years residence at Cairo, the consul Maillet
 had contemplated that varying scene, the Nile; (lettre ii. par-
 ticularly p. 70. 75.) the fertility of the land, (lettre ix.) From
 a college at Cambridge, the poetic eye of Gray had seen the
 same objects with a keener glance:

What wonder in the sultry climes that spread,
 Where Nile, redundant o'er his summer bed,
 From his broad bosom life and verdure flings,
 And broods o'er Egypt with his wat'ry wings,
 If with advent'rous oar, and ready sail,
 The dusky people drive before the gale;
 Or on frail floats to neighbouring cities ride,
 That rise and glitter o'er the ambient tide.

(Mason's Works, and Memoirs of Gray, p. 199, 200.)

† Murtadi, p. 164.—167. The reader will not easily credit
 an human sacrifice under the Christian emperors, or a miracle
 of the successors of Mahomet.

‡ Maillet, Description de l'Egypte, p. 22. He mentions
 this number as the common opinion; and adds, that the gene-
 rally

Arabs, the Copts alone were found, on the assess- CHAP. ment, six millions of tributary subjects †, for LI. twenty millions of either sex, and of every age; that three hundred millions of gold or silver were annually paid to the treasury of the caliph ‡. Our reason must be startled by these extravagant assertions; and they will become more palpable, if we assume the compass and measure the extent of habitable ground; a valley from the tropic to Memphis, seldom broader than twelve miles, and the triangle of the Delta, a flat surface of two thousand one hundred square leagues, compose a twelfth part of the magnitude of France †. A more accurate research will justify a more reasonable estimate. The three hundred millions, created by the error of a scribe, are reduced to the decent revenue of four millions three hundred thousand pieces of gold,

ality of these villages contain two or three thousand persons, and that many of them are more populous than our large cities.

* Eutyck. *Annal.* tom. ii. p. 308. 311. The twenty millions are computed from the following *data*: One twelfth of mankind above sixty, one third below sixteen, the proportion of men to women as seventeen to sixteen, (*Recherches sur la Population de la France*, p. 71, 72.) The president Goguet (*Origine des Arts*, &c. tom. iii. p. 26, &c.) bestows twenty-seven millions on ancient Egypt, because the seventeen hundred companions of Sesostris were born on the same day.

† Elmacin, *Hist. Saracen*, p. 218.; and this gross lump is swallowed without scruple by d'Herbelot, (*Bibliot. Orient.* p. 1031.) Arbuthnot, (*Tables of ancient Coins*, p. 262.) and the Guignes, (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. iii. p. 135.) They might alledge the not less extravagant liberality of Appian in favour of the Ptolemies, (in *præfat.*) of seventy four myriads, 740,000 talents, an annual income of 185, or near 300, millions of pounds Sterling, according as we reckon by the Egyptian or the Alexandrian talent, (Bernard de Ponderibus *Antiq.* p. 186.)

‡ See the measurement of d'Anville, (*Mém. sur l'Égypte*, p. 23, &c.) After some peevish cavils, M. Pauw (*Recherches sur les Egyptiens*, tom. i. p. 118—121.) can only enlarge his reckoning to 2250 square leagues.

CHAP. gold, of which nine hundred thousand were consumed by the pay of the soldiers. * Two authentic lists, of the present and of the twelfth century, are circumscribed within the respectable number of two thousand seven hundred villages and towns †. After a long residence at Cairo, a French consul has ventured to assign about four millions of Mahometans, Christians, and Jews for the ample, though not incredible, scope of the population of Egypt ‡. §. *Polyniqua* vi.

AFRICA.
First In-
vasion by
Abdallah,
A. D. 647.

IV. The conquest of Africa, from the Nile to the Atlantic ocean §; was first attempted by the

* Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alexand. p. 334. who calls the common reading or version of *Hispania*, *Hispania*, and his own emendation of 4,300,000 pieces, in the ninth century, maintains a probable medium between the 3,000,000 which the Arabs acquired by the conquest of Egypt, (*idem*, p. 168.) and the 2,400,000 which the sultan of Constantinople levied in the last century, (Pietro della Valle, tom. i. p. 352.; Thevenot, part i. p. 824.) Pauw, (*Recherches*, tom. ii. p. 365—373.) gradually raises the revenue of the Ptolemies, the Ptolemies, and the Cæsars, from six to fifteen millions of German crowns.

† The list of Schultens (*Index Geograph. ad calcem Vit. Saladin* p. 5.) contains 2396 places; that of d'Anville, (*Atlas sur l'Egypte*, p. 29.) from the divan of Cairo, enumerates 2606.

‡ See Maillet, (*Description de l'Egypte*, p. 28.) who seems to argue with candour and judgment. I am much better satisfied with the observations than with the reading of the French consul. He was ignorant of Greek and Latin literature, and his fancy is too much delighted with the fictions of the Arabs. Their best knowledge is collected by Abulfeda, (*Descript. Egypt. Arab. et Lat.* a Joh. David Michaelis, Göttingæ, in 4to, 1776,) and in two recent voyages into Egypt, we are amused by Savary, and instructed by Volney. I wish the latter could travel over the globe.

§ My conquest of Africa is drawn from two French interpreters of Arabic literature, Cardonne, (*Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes*, tom. i. p. 8—55) and Otter, (*Hist. de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. xli. p. 111—125. and 136.) They derive their principal

Navais,

arms of the caliph Othman. The pious design was approved by the companions of Mahomet and the chiefs of the tribes; and twenty thousand Arabs marched from Medina, with the gifts and the blessing of the commander of the faithful. They were joined in the camp of Memphis by twenty thousand of their countrymen; and the conduct of the war was entrusted to Abdallah *, the son of Said, and the foster-brother of the caliph, who had lately supplanted the conqueror and lieutenant of Egypt. Yet the favour of the prince, and the merit of his favourite, could not obliterate the guilt of his apostacy. The early conversion of Abdallah, and his skilful pen, had recommended him to the important office of transcribing the sheets of the Koran; he betrayed his trust, corrupted the text, derided the errors which he had made, and fled to Mecca to escape the justice, and expose the ignorance, of the apostle. After the conquest of Mecca, he fell prostrate at the feet of Mahomet; his tears, and the entreaties of Othman, extorted a reluctant pardon; but the prophet declared, that he had so long hesitated, to allow time for some zealous disciple to avenge his injury in the blood of the apostate. With apparent fidelity and effective merit, he served the religion which it

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G g

was

Novairi, who composed, A. D. 1331, an Encyclopædia in more than twenty volumes. The five general parts successively treat of, 1. Physics, 2. Man, 3. Animals, 4. Plants, and, 5. History; and the African affairs are discussed in the sixth chapter of the fifth section of this last part; (Reiske, *Prodidagnata ad Hagji Chalifæ Tabulas*, p. 232—234.) Among the older historians who are quoted by Novairi, we may distinguish the original narrative of a soldier who led the van of the Moslems.

* See the history of Abdallah, in Abulfeda, (*Vit. Mohammed*, p. 109.) and Gagnier, (*Vie de Mahomet*, tom. iii. p. 45—48.)

CHAP. ^{LI.} was no longer his interest to desert: His birth and talents gave him an honourable rank among the Koreish; and, in a nation of cavalry, Abdallah was renowned as the boldest and most dexterous horseman of Arabia. At the head of forty thousand Moslems, he advanced from Egypt into the unknown countries of the West. The sands of Barca might be impervious to a Roman legion; but the Arabs were attended by their faithful camels; and the natives of the desert beheld without terror the familiar aspect of the soil and climate. After a painful march, they pitched their tents before the walls of Tripoli *, a maritime city, in which the name, the wealth, and the inhabitants, of the province, had gradually centered, and which now maintains the third rank among the states of Barbary. A reinforcement of Greeks was surprised and cut in pieces on the sea-shore; but the fortifications of Tripoli resisted the first assaults; and the Saracens were tempted by the approach of the præfect Gregory † to relinquish the labours of the siege

* The province and city of Tripoli are described by Leo Africanus, (in *Navigazione et Viaggi di Ramusio*, tom. i. Venetia, 1550, fol. 76. *verso*.) and Marmol, (*Description de l'Afrique*, tom. ii, p. 562.) The first of these writers was a Moor, a scholar, and a traveller, who composed or translated his African geography in a state of captivity at Rome, where he had assumed the name and religion of pope Leo X. In a similar captivity among the Moors, the Spaniard Marmol, a soldier of Charles V. compiled his *Description of Africa*, translated by d'Ablancourt into French, (Paris, 1667, 3 vols. in 4to.) Marmol had read and seen, but he is destitute of the curious and extensive observation which abounds in the original work of Leo the African.

† Theophanes, who mentions the defeat, rather than the death, of Gregory. He brands the præfect with the name of *Tyrannos*; he had probably assumed the purple. (*Chronograph.* p. 285.)

siege for the perils and the hopes of a decisive action! If his standard was followed by one hundred and twenty thousand men, the regular bands of the empire must have been lost in the naked and disorderly crowd of Africans and Moors, who formed the strength, or rather the numbers, of his host. He rejected with indignation the option of the Koran or the tribute; and during several days, the two armies were fiercely engaged from the dawn of light to the hour of noon, when their fatigue and the excessive heat compelled them to seek shelter and refreshment in their respective camps. The daughter of Gregory, a maid of incomparable beauty and spirit, is said to have fought by his side; from her earliest youth she was trained to mount on horseback, to draw the bow, and to wield the scymetar; and the richness of her arms and apparel was conspicuous in the foremost ranks of the battle. Her hand, with an hundred thousand pieces of gold, was offered for the head of the Arabian general, and the youths of Africa were excited by the prospect of the glorious prize. At the pressing solicitation of his brethren, Abdallah withdrew his person from the field; but the Saracens were discouraged by the retreat of their leader, and the repetition of these equal or unsuccessful conflicts.

C H A P.

III

The præfect Gregory and his daughter.

A noble Arabian, who afterwards became the adversary of Ali and the father of a caliph, had signalized his valour in Egypt, and Zobeir * was

Victory of the Arabs.

G g 2

the

* See in Oekley, (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 45.) the death of Zobeir, which was honoured with the tears of Ali, against whom he had rebelled. His valour at the siege of Babylon, if indeed it be the same person, is mentioned by Eutychius, (Annal. tom. ii. p. 308.)

CHAP.
LI.

the first who planted a scaling-ladder against the walls of Babylon. In the African war he was detached from the standard of Abdallah. On the news of the battle, Zobeir, with twelve companions, cut his way through the camp of the Greeks, and pressed forwards without tasting either food or repose, to partake of the dangers of his brethren. He cast his eyes round the field: "Where," said he, "is our general?" "In his tent." "Is the tent a station for the general of the Moslems?" Abdallah represented with a blush the importance of his own life, and the temptation that was held forth by the Roman prefect. "Retort," said Zobeir, "on the inndels their ungenerous attempt. Proclaim through the ranks, that the head of Gregory shall be repaid with his captive daughter, and the equal sum of one hundred thousand pieces of gold." To the courage and discretion of Zobeir the lieutenant of the caliph entrusted the execution of his own stratagem, which inclined the long-disputed balance in favour of the Saracens. Supplying by activity and artifice the deficiency of numbers, a part of their forces lay concealed in their tents, while the remainder prolonged an irregular skirmish with the enemy, till the sun was high in the heavens. On both sides they retired with fainting steps; their horses were unbridled, their armour was laid aside, and the hostile nations prepared, or seemed to prepare, for the refreshment of the evening, and the encounter of the ensuing day. On a sudden, the charge was sounded; the Arabian camp poured forth a swarm of fresh and intrepid warriors; and the

the long line of the Greeks and Africans was surprised, assaulted, overturned by new squadrons of the faithful, who, to the eye of fanaticism, might appear as a band of angels descending from the sky. The præfect himself was slain by the hand of Zobeir: His daughter, who sought revenge and death, was surrounded and made prisoner; and the fugitives involved in their disaster the town of Sufetula, to which they escaped from the sabres and lances of the Arabs. Sufetula was built one hundred and fifty miles to the south of Carthage: A gentle declivity is watered by a running stream, and shaded by a grove of Juniper trees; and, in the ruins of a triumphal arch, a portico, and three temples of the Corinthian order, curiosity may yet admire the magnificence of the Romans*. After the fall of this opulent city, the provincials and Barbarians implored on all sides the mercy of the conqueror. His vanity or his zeal might be flattered by offers of tribute or professions of faith: But his losses, his fatigues, and the progress of an epidemical disease, prevented a solid establishment; and the Saracens, after a campaign of fifteen months, retreated to the confines of Egypt, with the captives and the wealth of their African expedition. The caliph's fifth was granted to a favourite, on the nominal payment of five hundred thousand pieces of gold†; but the state was

G. 2 3 doubly

* Shaw's Travels, p. 118, 119.

† Mimica emptio, says Abulfeda, erat hæc, et mira donatio; quandoquidem Othman, ejus nomine nummos ex arario publico ablatis arario præstabat, (Annal. Mpslem, p. 78.) Elmacin (in his cloudy version, p. 39.) seems to report the same job. When the Arabs besieged the palace of Othman, it stood high in their catalogue of grievances.

CHAP. doubly injured by this fallacious transaction, if
 LI. each foot-soldier had shared one thousand, and
 each horseman three thousand pieces, in the real
 division of the plunder. The author of the
 death of Gregory was expected to have claimed
 the most precious reward of the victory: From his
 silence it might be presumed that he had fallen in
 the battle, till the tears and exclamations of the
 præfect's daughter at the sight of Zobeir revealed
 the valour and modesty of that gallant soldier.
 The unfortunate virgin was offered, and almost
 rejected as a slave, by her father's murderer, who
 coolly declared that his sword was consecrated to
 the service of religion; and that he laboured for
 a recompense far above the charms of mortal
 beauty, or the riches of this transitory life. A re-
 ward congenial to his temper, was the honourable
 commission of announcing to the caliph Othman
 the success of his arms. The companions, the
 chiefs, and the people, were assembled in the
 mosch of Medina, to hear the interesting narrative
 of Zobeir; and, as the orator forgot nothing ex-
 cept the merit of his own counsels and actions,
 the name of Abdallah was joined by the Arabians
 with the heroic names of Caled and Amrou*.

Progress
 of the Sa-
 racens in
 Africa,
 A. D.
 665—689.

The western conquests of the Saracens were
 suspended near twenty years, till their dissensions
 were composed by the establishment of the house
 of Ommiyah; and the caliph Moawiyah was invit-
 ed by the cries of the Africans themselves. The suc-
 cessors

* *Επιστάτορας Σαρακηνοὶ τῇ Ἀφρικήν, καὶ ἐντεταμένους τῇ
 τυραννὶ Γενογόριον τὸν τέτατον καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ ἐκτιστοὺς καὶ ἐντεταμένους
 Φοίβος μετὰ τῶν Ἀφρην ἐκτετατῶν.* Theophan. Chronograph. p.
 285. edit. Paris. His chronology is loose and inaccurate.

cessors of Heraclius had been informed of the tribute which they had been compelled to stipulate with the Arabs; but instead of being moved to pity and relieve their distress, they imposed, as an equivalent or a fine, a second tribute of a similar amount. The ears of the Byzantine ministers were shut against the complaints of their poverty and ruin; their despair was reduced to prefer the dominion of a single master; and the extortions of the patriarch of Carthage, who was invested with civil and military power, provoked the sectaries, and even the Catholics, of the Roman province, to abjure the religion as well as the authority of their tyrants. The first lieutenant of Moawiyah acquired a just renown, subdued an important city, defeated an army of thirty thousand Greeks, swept away fourscore thousand captives, and enriched with their spoils the bold adventurers of Syria and Egypt*. But the title of conqueror of Africa is more justly due to his successor Akbah. He marched from Damascus at the head of ten thousand of the bravest Arabs; and the genuine force of the Moslems was enlarged by the doubtful aid and conversion of many thousand Barbarians. It would be difficult, nor is it necessary, to trace the accurate line of the progress of Akbah. The interior regions have been peopled by the Orientals with fictitious armies and imaginary citadels. In the warlike province of Zab or Numidia, fourscore thousand of the natives

G g 4 might

* Theophanes (in Chronograph. p. 293.) inserts the vague rumours that might reach Constantinople, of the western conquests of the Arabs; and I learn from Paul Warnefrid, deacon of Aquileia, (*de Gestis Langobard.* l. v. c. 13.) that at this time they sent a fleet from Alexandria into the Sicilian and African seas.

might resemble in appearance, but the number of three hundred and eighty towns is incompatible with the ignorance and decay of husbandry &c. and a confederation of three leagues will not be justified by the ruins of Erbe or Lambesa, the ancient metropolis of that inland country. As we approach the sea-coast, the well-known cities of Bugia † and Tangier ‡ define the more certain limits of the Saracen victories. A remnant of trade still adheres to the commodious harbour of Bugia, which in a more prosperous age, is said to have contained about twenty thousand houses; and the plenty of iron, which is dug from the adjacent mountains, might have supplied a braver people with the instruments of defence. The remote position and venerable antiquity of Tingi, or Tangier, have been decorated by the Greek and Arabian fables; but the figurative expressions of the latter, that the walls were constructed of brass, and that the roofs were covered with gold and silver, may be interpreted as the emblems of strength and opulence. The province of Mauritania, Tingitana §, which assumed

* See Novairi, (apud Otter, p. 118.) Leo Africanus, (fol. 81. verso) who reckons only cinque città à infinite casai, Marmol, (Description de l'Afrique, tom. iii. p. 32.) and Shaw (Travels, p. 57. 65—68.)

† Leo African. fol. 58. verso. 59. recto. Marmol. tom. iii. p. 415. Shaw, p. 43.

‡ Leo African. fol. 52. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 218.

§ Regio ignobilis, et vix quicquam illustre sortita, parvis oppidis habitatur, parva flumina emittit, solo quam vis melior et segnitie gentis obscura. Pomponius Mela, l. 5. iii. 10. Mela deserves the more credit, since his own Phœnician ancestors had migrated from Tingitana to Spain; (see, in, ii. 6. a passage of that geographer so cruelly tortured by Salmasius, Isaac Vossius, and the most virulent of critics, James Gronovius.) He

assumed the manner of the capital, had been im-
 perfectly discovered and settled by the Romans; the five colonies were confined to a narrow pale,
 and the more southern parts were seldom explored
 except by the agents of luxury, who searched the
 forests for ivory, and the citron wood, and the
 shores of the ocean for the purple shell-fish. The
 fearless Akbah plunged into the heart of the
 country, traversed the wilderness in which his suc-
 cessors directed the splendid capitals of Fez and
 Morocco, and at length penetrated to the verge
 of the Atlantic and the great desert. The river
 Sus descends from the western sides of mount At-
 las, fertilises, like the Nile, the adjacent soil, and
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 Canary, or Fortunate Islands. Its banks were inha-
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lived at the time of the final reduction of that country by the
 emperor Claudius: Yet almost thirty years afterwards, Pliny
 (Hist. Nat. v. 1.) complains of his authors, too lazy to inquire,
 too proud to confess their ignorance of that wild and remote
 province.

3. The foolish fashion of this citron wood prevailed at Rome
 among the men, as much as the taste for pearls among the wo-
 men. A round board or table, four or five feet in diameter,
 sold for the price of an estate, (*latefundii taxatione*), eight, ten,
 or twelve thousand pounds Sterling; (Plin. Hist. Natur. xiii.
 29.) I conceive that I must not confound the tree *citrus* with
 that of the fruit *citrum*. But I am not botanist enough to de-
 fine the former (it is like the wild cypress) by the vulgar or
 Linnæan name; nor will I decide whether the *citrum* be the
 orange or the lemon. Salmasius appears to exhaust the subject,
 but he too often involves himself in the web of his disorderly
 erudition; (Plinian. Exercitat. tom. ii. p. 666, &c.)

† *Les Africain*. fol. 16, verso. *Marmol*, tom. ii. p. 28. This
 province, the first scene of the exploits and greatness of the
celifs, is often mentioned in the curious history of that dynasty
 at the end of the third volume of *Marmol*, *Description de l'*
Afrique. The third volume of the *Recherches Historiques sur*
les Maures (lately published at Paris) illustrates the history and
 geography of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco.

CHAPTER II. **bited by the last of the Moors, a race of savages, without laws, or discipline, or religion: They were astonished by the strange and irresistible terrors of the Oriental arms; and as they possessed neither gold nor silver, the richest spoil was the beauty of the female captives, some of whom were afterwards sold for a thousand pieces of gold. The career, though not the zeal, of Akbah, was checked by the prospect of a boundless ocean. He spumed his horse into the waves, and raising his eyes to heaven, exclaimed with the tone of a fanatic "Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, "I would still go on, to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods than thee *." Yet this Mahometan Alexander, who sighed for new worlds, was unable to preserve his recent conquests. By the universal defection of the Greeks and Africans, he was recalled from the shores of the Atlantic, and the surrounding multitudes left him only the resource of an honourable death. The last scene was dignified by an example of national virtue. An ambitious chief, who had disputed the command, and failed in the attempt, was led about as a prisoner in the camp of the Arabian general. The insurgents had trusted to his discontent and revenge; he disdained their offers, and revealed their designs. In the hour**

* Otter (p. 119.) has given the strong tone of fanaticism to this exclamation, which Cardonne (p. 37.) has softened to a pious wish of *preaching* the Koran. Yet they had both the same text of Novairi before their eyes.

hour of danger, the grateful Akbah unlocked his fetters, and advised him to retire; he chose to die under the banner of his rival. Embracing as friends and martyrs, they unsheathed their scimitars, broke their scabbards, and maintained an obstinate combat, till they fell by each other's side on the last of their slaughtered countrymen. The third general or governor of Africa, Zuheir, avenged and encountered the fate of his predecessor. He vanquished the natives in many battles; he was overthrown by a powerful army, which Constantinople had sent to the relief of Carthage.

C H A P.

LII

It had been the frequent practice of the Moorish tribes to join the invaders, to share the plunder, to profess the faith, and to revolt to their savage state of independence and idolatry, on the first retreat or misfortune of the Moslems. The prudence of Akbah had proposed to found an Arabian colony in the heart of Africa; a citadel that might curb the levity of the barbarians, a place of refuge to secure, against the accidents of war, the wealth and the families of the Saracens. With this view, and under the modest title of the station of a caravan, he planted this colony in the fiftieth year of the Hegira. In its present decay, Cairoan * still holds the second rank in the kingdom of Tunis, from which it is distant about fifty miles

Founda-
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Cairoan,
A. D.
670—675.

* The foundation of Cairoan is mentioned by Ockley; (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 129, 130.) and the situation, mosch, &c. of the city are described by Leo Africanus, (fol. 75.) Mar-mol, (tom. ii. p. 532.) and Shaw, (p. 115.)

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C H A P.

LI.



Cairoan

to

C. A.

C. A.

miles to the south *; its inland situation, twelve miles westward of the sea, has protected the city from the Greek and Sicilian fleets.. When the wild beasts and serpents were extirpated, when the forest, or rather wilderness, was cleared, the vestiges of a Roman town were discovered in a sandy plain; the vegetable food of Cairoan is brought from afar; and the scarcity of springs constrains the inhabitants to collect in cisterns and reservoirs a precarious supply of rain-water. These obstacles were subdued by the industry of Akbah; he traced a circumference of three thousand and six hundred paces, which he encompassed with a brick wall; in the space of five years, the governor's palace was surrounded with a sufficient number of private habitations; a spacious mosch was supported by five hundred columns of granite, porphyry, and Numidian marble; and Cairoan became the seat of learning as well as of empire. But these were the glories of a later age; the new colony was shaken by the successive defeats of Akbah and Zuheir, and the western expeditions were again interrupted by the civil discord of the Arabian monarchy. The son of the valiant Zobeir maintained a war of twelve years, a siege of seven months against the house of 'Ommyah. Abdallah was said to unite the fierceness of the

lion

* A portentous, though frequent, mistake has been the common founding, from a slight similitude of name, the *Cyrene* of the Greeks, and the *Cairoan* of the Arabs, two cities which are separated by an interval of a thousand miles along the sea-coast. The great Thuanus has not escaped this fault, the less excusable as it is connected with a formal and elaborate description of Africa, (Historiar. l. vii. c. 2. in tom. i. p. 240. edit. Buckley.)

lion with the subtlety of the fox; but if he inherited the courage, he was devoid of the generosity of his father *.

The return of domestic peace allowed the caliph Abdalmalek to resume the conquest of Africa; the standard was delivered to Hassan governor of Egypt, and the revenue of that kingdom, with an army of forty thousand men, was consecrated to the important service. In the vicissitudes of war, the interior provinces had been alternately won and lost by the Saracens. But the sea-coast still remained in the hands of the Greeks; the predecessors of Hassan had respected the name and fortifications of Carthage; and the number of its defenders was recruited by the fugitives of Cades and Tripoli. The arms of Hassan were bolder and more fortunate; he reduced and pillaged the metropolis of Africa; and the mention of scaling-ladders may justify the suspicion that he anticipated, by a sudden assault, the more tedious operations of a regular siege. But the joy of the conquerors was soon disturbed by the appearance of the Christian succours. The præfect and patrician John, a general of experience and renown, embarked at Constantinople the forces of the Eastern empire †; they were joined by the ships

C H A P.

LI.

Conquest
of Car-
thage,
A.D.
692—698.

* Besides the Arabic chronicles of Abulfeda, Elmacin, and Abulpharagius, under the seventy-third year of the Hegira, we may consult d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 7.) and Ockley, (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 339—349.) The latter has given the last and pathetic dialogue between Abdallah and his mother; but he not forgot a physical effect of her grief for his death, the return, at the age of ninety, and fatal consequences, of her menies.

† Ἀσπίτης. . . . ἀπάρτα τα Γερμανικὰ ἑσπλίου πλοῖμα, στρατηγοὶ τε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἰσχυροὶ τοὶ Πατρικιοὶ ἔμπειροὶ τοὶ πηλὴν πρὸς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ.

CHAP. and soldiers of Sicily, and a powerful reinforcement of Goths * was obtained from the fears and religion of the Spanish monarch. The weight of the confederate navy broke the chain that guarded the entrance of the harbour; the Arabs retired to Cairoan, or Tripoli; the Christians landed; the citizens hailed the ensign of the cross, and the winter was idly wasted in the dream of victory or deliverance. But Africa was irrecoverably lost. The zeal and resentment of the commander of the faithful * prepared in the ensuing spring a more numerous armament by sea and land; and the patrician in his turn was compelled to evacuate the port and fortifications of Carthage. A second battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Utica: The Greeks and Goths were again defeated; and their timely embarkation saved them from the sword of Hassan, who

μνησι προς Κωνσταντινα κατὰ τὴν Σαρακενικὴν ἱστρίαν. Nicephori Constantinopolitani Breviar. p. 28. The patriarch of Constantinople, with Theophanes, (Chronograph. p. 309.) have slightly mentioned this last attempt for the relief of Africa. Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 129. 141.) has nicely ascertained the chronology by a strict comparison of the Arabic and Byzantine historians, who often disagree both in time and fact. See likewise a note of Otter, (p. 121.)

* Doves' erano ridotti i nobili Romani e i Gotti; and afterwards, i Romani suggirano e i Gotti, lasciarono Carthagine, (Leo African. fol. 72. recto.) I know not from what Arabic writer the African derived his Goths; but the fact, though new, is so interesting and so probable, that I will accept it on the slightest authority.

† This commander is stiled by Nicephorus *Βασιλεὺς Σαρακενικῶν*, a vague though not improper definition of the caliph. Theophanes introduces the strange appellation of *Προτοσυμβολος*, which his interpreter Gbar explains by *Vizir Azem*. They may approach the truth, in assigning the active part to the minister, rather than the prince; but they forgot that the Omniades had only a *kateb*, or secretary, and that the office of Vizir was not revived or instituted till the 132d year of the Hegira, (d'Herbelot, p. 912.)

who had invested the slight, and insufficient ramp, CHAP. part of their camp. Whatever yet remained of Carthage was delivered to the flames, and the colony of Dido * and Cæsar lay desolate above two hundred years, till a part, perhaps a twentieth, of the old circumference, was re-peopled by the first of the Fatimite caliphs. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the second capital of the West was represented, by a mosque, a college without students, twenty-five or thirty shops, and the huts of five hundred peasants, who, in their abject poverty, displayed the arrogance of the Punic senators. Even that paltry village was swept away by the Spaniards whom Charles the Fifth had stationed in the fortress of the Goletta. The ruins of Carthage have perished; and the place might be unknown; if some broken arches of an aqueduct did not guide the footsteps of the inquisitive traveller †.

The Greeks were expelled, but the Arabians were not yet masters of the country. In the interior provinces, the Moors or *Berbers* ‡, so feeble under

Final conquest of Africa, A. D. 698—709.

* According to Solinus, (l. 27. p. 36. edit. Salmas.) the Carthage of Dido stood either 677 or 737 years; a various reading, which proceeds from the difference of MSS. or editions, (Salmas. Plinian. Exercit. tom. i. p. 228.) The former of these accounts, which gives 823 years before Christ, is more consistent with the well-weighed testimony of Velleius Paterculus: But the latter is preferred by our chronologists, (Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 398.) as more agreeable to the Hebrew and Tyrian annals.

† Leo African: fol. 71. verso; 72. recto. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 445—447. Shaw, p. 80.

‡ The history of the word *Barbar* may be classed under four periods. 1. In the time of Homer, when the Greeks and Asiatics might

CHAP. under the first Cæsars, so formidable to the Byzantine princes, maintained a disorderly resistance to the religion and power of the successors of Mahomet. Under the standard of their queen Cahina the independent tribes acquired some degree of union and discipline ; and as the Moors respected in their females the character of a prophetess, they attacked the invaders with an enthusiasm similar to their own. The veteran bands of Hassan were inadequate to the defence of Africa ; the conquests of an age were lost in a single day ; and the Arabian chief, overwhelmed by the torrent, retired to the confines of Egypt, and expected, five years, the promised succours of the caliph. After the retreat of the Saracens, the victorious prophetess assembled the Moorish chiefs, and recommended a measure of strange and savage policy. “ Our cities,” said she, “ and the gold and silver which they contain, perpetually attract the arms of the Arabs. These vile metals are not the objects of *our* ambition ; we content ourselves with the
“ simple

might probably use a common idiom, the imitative sound of Barbar was applied to the ruder tribes, whose pronunciation was most harsh, whose grammar was most defective. *Kαρις Βαρβαροφωνοι*, (Iliad ii. 867. with the Oxford scholiast, Clarke’s Annotation, and Henry Stephens’s Greek Thesaurus, tom. i. p. 720.) 2. From the time, at least, of Herodotus, it was extended to *all* the nations who were strangers to the language and manners of the Greeks. 3. In the age of Plautus, the Romans submitted to the insult, (Pompeius Festus, l. ii. p. 48. edit. Dacier,) and freely gave themselves the name of *Barbarians*. They insensibly claimed an exemption for Italy, and her subject provinces ; and at length removed the disgraceful appellation to the savage or hostile nations beyond the pale of the empire. 4. In every sense, it was due to the Moors ; the familiar word was borrowed from the Latin provincials by the Arabian conquerors, and has justly settled as a local denomination (*Barbary*) along the northern coast of Africa.

"simple productions of the earth. Let us destroy
 "these cities; let us bury in their ruins those per-
 "nicious treasures; and when the avarice of our
 "foes shall be destitute of temptation, perhaps
 "they will cease to disturb the tranquillity of a
 "warlike people." The proposal was accepted
 with unanimous applause. From Tangier to Tri-
 poli the buildings, or at least the fortifications,
 were demolished, the fruit-trees were cut down,
 the means of subsistence were extirpated, a fertile
 and populous garden was changed into a desert,
 and the historians of a more recent period could
 discern the frequent traces of the prosperity and
 devastation of their ancestors. Such is the tale of
 the modern Arabians. Yet I strongly suspect that
 their ignorance of antiquity, the love of the mar-
 vellous, and the fashion of extolling the philoso-
 phy of Barbarians, has induced them to describe,
 as one voluntary act, the calamities of three hun-
 dred years since the first fury of the Donatists
 and Vandals. In the progress of the revolt Ca-
 hina had most probably contributed her share of
 destruction; and the alarm of universal ruin might
 terrify and alienate the cities that had reluctantly
 yielded to her unworthy yoke. They no longer
 hoped, perhaps they no longer wished, the return
 of their Byzantine sovereigns: Their present ser-
 vitude was not alleviated by the benefits of order
 and justice; and the most zealous Catholic must
 prefer the imperfect truths of the Koran to the
 blind and rude idolatry of the Moors. The ge-
 neral of the Saracens was again received as the
 saviour of the province: The friends of civil so-
 ciety

C H A P. ciety conspired against the savages of the land;

LI. and the royal prophetess was slain in the first bat-

tle, which overturned the baseless fabric of her superstition and empire. The same spirit revived under the successor of Hassan; it was finally quelled by the activity of Musa and his two sons; but the number of the rebels may be presumed from that of three hundred thousand captives; sixty thousand of whom, the caliph's fifth, were sold for the profit of the public treasury. Thirty thousand of the Barbarian youth were enlisted in the troops; and the pious labours of Musa to inculcate the knowledge and practice of the Koran, accustomed the Africans to obey the apostle of God and the commander of the faithful. In their climate and government, their diet and habitation, the wandering Moors resembled the Bedoweens of the desert. With the religion, they were proud to adopt the language, name, and origin of Arabs; the blood of the strangers and natives was insensibly mingled; and from the Euphrates to the Atlantic the same nation might seem to be diffused over the sandy plains of Asia and Africa. Yet I will not deny that fifty thousand tents of pure Arabians might be transported over the Nile, and scattered through the Lybian desert; and I am not ignorant that five of the Moorish tribes still retain their *barbarous* idiom, with the appellation and character of *white* Africans *.

Adoption
of the
Moors.

V. In

* The first book of Leo Africanus, and the observations of Dr Shaw, (p. 220. 223. 227. 247, &c.) will throw some light on the roving tribes of Barbary, of Arabian or Moorish descent. But Shaw had seen these savages with distant terror; and Leo, a cap-

assumed the name of the capital, had been perfectly discovered and settled by the Romans; the five colonies were confined to a narrow pale, and the more southern parts were seldom explored except by the agents of luxury, who searched the forests for ivory and the citron wood *, and the shores of the ocean for the purple shell-fish. The fearless Akbah plunged into the heart of the country, traversed the wilderness in which his predecessors erected the splendid capitals of Fez and Morocco †, and at length penetrated to the verge of the Atlantic and the great desert. The river Sus descends from the western sides of mount Atlas, fertilises, like the Nile, the adjacent soil, and falls into the sea at a moderate distance from the Canary, or Fortunate Islands. Its banks were inhabited

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CHAP. sage of the Christian chief, who offered his place,
 LI. his person, and his sword, to the successors of
 Mahomet, and solicited the disgraceful honour of
 introducing their arms into the heart of Spain *.
 If we enquire into the cause of his treachery, the
 Spaniards will repeat the popular story of his
 daughter Cava †; of a virgin who was seduced, or
 ravished, by her sovereign; of a father who sacri-
 ficed his religion and country to the thirst of re-
 venge. The passions of princes have often been
 licentious and destructive; but this well-known
 tale, romantic in itself, is indifferently supported
 by external evidence; and the history of Spain
 will suggest some motives of interest and policy,
 more congenial to the breast of a veteran states-
 man ‡. After the decease or deposition of Wi-
 tiza,

* The fall and resurrection of the Gothic monarchy are re-
 lated by Mariana, (tom. i. p. 238—260. l. vi. c. 19—26. l. vii.
 c. 1, 2.) That historian has infused into his noble work,
 (*Historiæ de Rebus Hispaniæ, libri xxx. Hæc Comitum*
1733, in four volumes in folio, with the Continuation of Mini-
ana,) the stile and spirit of a Roman classic; and after the
 twelfth century, his knowledge and judgment may be safely
 trusted. But the Jesuit is not exempt from the prejudices of
 his order; he adopts and adorns, like his rival Buchanan, the
 most absurd of the national legends; he is too careless of criti-
 cism and chronology, and supplies, from a lively fancy, the
 chasms of historical evidence. These chasms are large and
 frequent; Roderic, archbishop of Toledo, the father of the
 Spanish history, lived five hundred years after the conquest of
 the Arabs; and the more early accounts are comprised in some
 meagre lines of the blind chronicles of Isidore of Badajoz,
 (Pacensis,) and of Alphonso III. king of Leon, which I have
 seen only in the Annals of Pagi.

† Le viol, (says Voltaire) est aussi difficile à faire qu'à prou-
 ver. Des Evêques se seroient ils lignés pour une fille? (*Hist.*
Generale, c. xxvi.) His argument is not logically conclusive.

‡ In the story of Cava, Mariana (l. vi. c. 21. p. 241, 242.)
 seems to vie with the Lucretia of Livy. Like the ancients, he
 seldom

assumed the name of the capital, had been perfectly discovered and settled by the Romans; the five colonies were confined to a narrow pale, and the more southern parts were seldom explored except by the agents of luxury, who searched the forests for ivory and the citron wood *, and the shores of the ocean for the purple shell-fish. The fearless Akbah plunged into the heart of the country, traversed the wilderness in which his predecessors erected the splendid capitals of Fez and Morocco †, and at length penetrated to the verge of the Atlantic and the great desert. The river Sus descends from the western sides of mount Atlas, fertilises, like the Nile, the adjacent soil, and falls into the sea at a moderate distance from the Canary, or Fortunate Islands. Its banks were inhabited

lived at the time of the final reduction of that country by the emperor Claudius: Yet almost thirty years afterwards, Pliny (Hist. Nat. v. 1.) complains of his authors, too lazy to inquire, too proud to confess their ignorance of that wild and remote province.

* The foolish fashion of this citron wood prevailed at Rome among the men, as much as the taste for pearls among the women. A round board or table, four or five feet in diameter, sold for the price of an estate, (latifundii taxatione,) eight, ten, or twelve thousand pounds Sterling; (Plin. Hist. Natur. xiii. 29.) I conceive that I must not confound the tree *citrus* with that of the fruit *citrum*. But I am not botanist enough to define the former (it is like the wild cypress) by the vulgar or Linnean name; nor will I decide whether the *citrum* be the orange or the lemon. Salmasius appears to exhaust the subject, but he too often involves himself in the web of his disorderly erudition; (Plinian. Exercitat. tom. ii. p. 666, &c.)

† Lez African. fol. 16. verso. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 28. This province, the first scene of the exploits and greatness of the *celestis*; is often mentioned in the curious history of that dynasty, at the end of the third volume of Marmol, Description de l'Afrique. The third volume of the *Recherches Historiques sur les Mœurs* (lately published at Paris) illustrates the history and geography of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco.

C H A P. of his country; the weakness of an unpopular
 LI. prince; the degeneracy of an effeminate people.

The Goths were no longer the victorious Barbarians who had humbled the pride of Rome, despoiled the queen of nations, and penetrated from the Danube to the Atlantic ocean. Secluded from the world by the Pyrenæan mountains, the successors of Alaric had slumbered in a long peace; the walls of the cities were mouldered into dust; the youth had abandoned the exercise of arms; and the presumption of their ancient renown would expose them in a field of battle to the first assault of the invaders. The ambitious Saracen was fired by the ease and importance of the attempt; but the execution was delayed till he had consulted the commander of the faithful; and his messenger returned with the permission of Walid to annex the unknown kingdoms of the West to the religion and throne of the caliphs. In his residence of Tangier, Musa, with secrecy and caution, continued his correspondence and hastened his preparations. But the remorse of the conspirators was soothed by the fallacious assurance that he should content himself with the glory and spoil, without aspiring to establish the Moslems beyond the sea that separates Africa from Europe *.

Before

* The Orientals, Elmacin, Abulpharagius, Abulfeda, pass over the conquest of Spain in silence, or with a single word. The text of Novairi, and the other Arabian writers, is represented, though with some foreign alloy, by M. de Cardonne, (*Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes*, Paris, 1765, 3 vol. in 12mo, tom. i. p. 55—114.) and more concisely by M. de Guignes, (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. i.

hour of danger, the grateful Akbah unlocked his CHAP. fetters, and advised him to retire; he chose to die LII under the banner of his rival. Embracing as friends and martyrs, they unsheathed their scymetars, broke their scabbards, and maintained an obstinate combat, till they fell by each other's side on the last of their slaughtered countrymen. The third general or governor of Africa, Zuheir, avenged and encountered the fate of his predecessor. He vanquished the natives in many battles; he was overthrown by a powerful army, which Constantinople had sent to the relief of Carthage.

It had been the frequent practice of the Moorish tribes to join the invaders, to share the plunder, to profess the faith, and to revolt to their savage state of independence and idolatry, on the first retreat or misfortune of the Moslems. The prudence of Akbah had proposed to found an Arabian colony in the heart of Africa; a citadel that might curb the levity of the barbarians, a place of refuge to secure, against the accidents of war, the wealth and the families of the Saracens. With this view, and under the modest title of the station of a caravan, he planted this colony in the fiftieth year of the Hegira. In its present decay, Cairoan * still holds the second rank in the kingdom of Tunis, from which it is distant about fifty miles

Founda-
tion of
Cairoan,
A. D.
670—675.

* The foundation of Cairoan is mentioned by Ockley; (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 129, 130.) and the situation, mosch, &c. of the city are described by Leo Africanus, (fol. 75.) Marmol, (tom. ii. p. 532.) and Shaw, (p. 115.)

C H A P. their first station, they marched eighteen miles
 LI. through an hilly country to the castle and town of
 Julian *; on which (it is still called *Algezire*)
 they bestowed the name of the Green Island; from
 a verdant cape that advances into the sea. Their
 hospitable entertainment, the Christians who joined
 their standard, their inroad into a fertile and un-
 guarded province, the richness of their spoil and
 the safety of their return, announced to their
 brethren the most favourable omens of victory.
 In the ensuing spring, five thousand veterans and
 volunteers were embarked under the command of
 Tarik, a dauntless and skilful soldier, who sur-
 passed the expectation of his chief; and the ne-
 cessary transports were provided by the industry
 of their too faithful ally. The Saracens landed †
 at the pillar or point of Europe; the corrupt and
 familiar appellation of Gibraltar (*Gebel al Tarik*)
 describes the mountain of Tarik; and the intrench-
 ments of his camp were the first outline of those
 fortifications, which, in the hands of our coun-
 trymen, have resisted the art and power of the
 house of Bourbon. The adjacent governors in-
 formed the court of Toledo of the descent and
 progress of the Arabs; and the defeat of his lieu-
 tenant Edeco, who had been commanded to seize
 and bind the presumptuous strangers, admonished
 Roderic

Their se-
 cond de-
 scent,
 A. D. 711,
 April,

* The road, the country, the old castle of count Julian, and the superstitious belief of the Spaniards of hidden treasures, &c. are described by Pere Labat (*Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. i. p. 207—217.) with his usual pleasantry.

† The Nubian Geographer (p. 154.) explains the topography of the war; but it is highly incredible that the lieutenant of Musa should execute the desperate and useless measure of burning his ships.

Roderic of the magnitude of the danger. At the royal summons, the dukes and counts, the bishops and nobles of the Gothic monarchy, assembled at the head of their followers; and the title of king of the Romans, which is employed by an Arabic historian, may be excused by the close affinity of language, religion, and manners, between the nations of Spain. His army consisted of ninety or an hundred thousand men; a formidable power, if their fidelity and discipline had been adequate to their numbers. The troops of Tarik had been augmented to twelve thousand Saracens; but the Christian malecontents were attracted by the influence of Julian, and a crowd of Africans most greedily tasted the temporal blessings of the Koran. In the neighbourhood of Cadiz, the town of Xeres * has been illustrated by the encounter which determined the fate of the kingdom; the stream of the Guadalete, which falls into the bay, divided the two camps, and marked the advancing and retreating skirmishes of three successive and bloody days. On the fourth day, the two armies joined a more serious and decisive issue; but Alaric would have blushed at the sight of his unworthy successor, sustaining on his head a diadem of pearls, incumbered with a flowing robe of gold and silken embroidery, and reclining on a litter, or car of ivory, drawn by two white mules. Notwithstanding the valour of the Saracens, they

CHAP.
LI.
and victory, July 19—26.

fainted

* Xeres (the Roman colony of Asta Regia) is only two leagues from Cadiz. In the sixteenth century it was a granary of corn; and the wine of Xeres is familiar to the nations of Europe, (Lud. Nonii Hispania, c. 13. p. 54—56. a work of correct and concise knowledge; d'Anville, *Etats de l'Europe*, &c. p. 154.)

CHAP. **fainted** under the weight of multitudes, and the
 LI. plain of Xeres was overspread with sixteen thousand of their dead bodies. "My brethren," said Tarik to his surviving companions, "the enemy is before you, the sea is behind; whither would ye fly? Follow your general: I am resolved either to lose my life, or to trample on the prostrate king of the Romans." Besides the resource of despair, he confided in the secret correspondence and nocturnal interviews of count Julian, with the sons and the brother of Witiza. The two princes and the archbishop of Tolédo occupied the most important post; their well-timed defection broke the ranks of the Christians; each warrior was prompted by fear or suspicion to consult his personal safety; and the remains of the Gothic army were scattered or destroyed in the flight and pursuit of the three following days. Amidst the general disorder, Roderic started from his car, and mounted Orelia, the fleetest of his horses; but he escaped from a soldier's death to perish more ignobly in the waters of the Bœtis or Guadalquivir. His diadem, his robes, and his courser, were found on the bank; but as the body of the Gothic prince was lost in the waves, the pride and ignorance of the caliph must have been gratified with some meaner head, which was exposed in triumph before the palace of Damascus. "And such," continues a valiant historian of the Arabs, "is the fate of those kings who withdraw themselves from a field of battle *."

Count

* Id sane infortunii regibus pedem ex acie referentibus sæpe contingit. Ben Hazil of Grenada, in *Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana*, tom.

Count Julian had plunged so deep into guilt and infamy, that his only hope was in the ruin of his country. After the battle of Xeres he recommended the most effectual measures to the victorious Saracen. "The king of the Goths is slain; their princes are fled before you, the army is routed, the nation is astonished. Secure with sufficient detachments the cities of Bœtica; but in person, and without delay, march to the royal city of Toledo, and allow not the distracted Christians either time or tranquillity for the election of a new monarch." Tarik listened to his advice. A Roman captive and proselyte, who had been enfranchised by the caliph himself, assaulted Cordova with seven hundred horse; he swam the river, surprised the town, and drove the Christians into the great church, where they defended themselves above three months. Another detachment reduced the sea-coast of Bœtica, which in the last period of the Moorish power has comprised in a narrow space the populous kingdom of Grenada. The march of Tarik from the Bœtis to the Tagus *, was directed through the Sierra Morena, that separates Andalusia

C H A P.
LI.
Ruin of
the Gothic
monar-
chy,
A.D. 711.

tom. ii. p. 327. Some credulous Spaniards believe that king Roderic, or Roderigo, escaped to an hermit's cell; and others, that he was cast alive into a tub full of serpents, from whence he exclaimed, with a lamentable voice, "they devour the part with which I have so grievously sinned." (Don Quixote, part ii. l. iii. c. i.)

* The direct road from Corduba to Toledo was measured by Mr Swinburne's mules in $72\frac{1}{2}$ hours; but a larger computation must be adopted for the slow and devious marches of an army. The Arabs traversed the province of La Mancha, which the pen of Cervantes has transformed into classic ground to the reader of every nation.

C H A P. lusia and Castille, till he appeared in arms under

LI. the walls of Toledo *. The most zealous of the

— Catholics had escaped with the relics of their saints; and if the gates were shut, it was only till the victor had subscribed a fair and reasonable capitulation. The voluntary exiles were allowed to depart with their effects; seven churches were appropriated to the Christian worship; the archbishop and his clergy were at liberty to exercise their functions, the monks to practise or neglect their penance; and the Goths and Romans were left in all civil and criminal cases to the subordinate jurisdiction of their own laws and magistrates. But if the justice of Tarik protected the Christians, his gratitude and policy rewarded the Jews, to whose secret or open aid he was indebted for his most important acquisitions. Persecuted by the kings and synods of Spain, who had often pressed the alternative of banishment or baptism, that outcast nation embraced the moment of revenge; the comparison of their past and present state was the pledge of their fidelity; and the alliance between the disciples of Moses and of Mahomet, was maintained till the final æra of their common expulsion. From the royal seat of Toledo, the Arabian leader spread his conquests to the north, over the modern realms of Castille and Leon; but it is needless to enumerate the cities that yielded on

* The antiquities of Toledo, *Urbs Parva* in the Punic wars, *Urbs Regia* in the sixth century, are briefly described by Nonius, (*Hispania*, c. 59. p. 181—186.) He borrows from Roderic the *fatæle palatium* of Moorish portraits; but modestly insinuates that it was no more than a Roman amphitheatre.

on his approach, or again to describe the table of emerald *, transported from the East by the Romans, acquired by the Goths among the spoils of Rome, and presented by the Arabs to the throne of Damascus. Beyond the Austrian mountains, the maritime town of Gijon was the term † of the lieutenant of Musa, who had performed, with the speed of a traveller, his victorious march, of seven hundred miles; from the rock of Gibraltar to the bay of Biscay. The failure of land compelled him to retreat; and he was recalled to Toledo, to excuse his presumption of subduing a kingdom in the absence of his general. Spain, which in a more savage and disorderly state, had resisted, two hundred years; the arms of the Romans, was overrun in a few months by those of the Saracens; and such was the eagerness of submission and treaty, that the governor of Cordova is recorded as the only chief who fell, without conditions, a prisoner into their hands. The cause of the Goths had been irrevocably judged in the field of Xeres; and, in the national dismay, each part of the monarchy

* In the *Historia Arabum*, (c. 9. p. 17. ad calcem Elmacin,) Roderic of Toledo describes the emerald tables, and inserts the name of *Medinat Almeyda* in Arabic words and letters. He appears to be conversant with Mahometan writers; but I cannot agree with M. de Guignes, (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 350,) that he had read and transcribed Novairi; because he was dead an hundred years before Novairi composed his history. This mistake is founded on a still grosser error. M. de Guignes confounds the historian Roderic Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, in the thirteenth century, with cardinal Ximenes who governed Spain in the beginning of the sixteenth, and was the subject, not the author, of historical compositions.

† Tarik might have inscribed on the last rock, the boast of Regnard and his companions in their Lapland journey, "Hic tandem stetimus, nobis ubi defuit orbis."

C H A P. narchy declined a contest with the antagonist who
 LI. had vanquished the united strength of the whole*.

That strength had been wasted by two successive seasons of famine and pestilence; and the governors, who were impatient to surrender, might exaggerate the difficulty of collecting the provisions of a siege. To disarm the Christians, superstition likewise contributed her terrors; and the subtle Arab encouraged the report of dreams, omens, and prophecies, and of the portraits of the destined conquerors of Spain, that were discovered on breaking open an apartment of the royal palace. Yet a spark of the vital flame was still alive; some invincible fugitives preferred a life of poverty and freedom in the Austrian vallies; the hardy mountaineers repulsed the slaves of the caliph; and the sword of Pelagius has been transformed into the sceptre of the catholic kings †.

Conquest
 of Spain
 by Musa,
 A. D. 712,
 713.

On the intelligence of this rapid success, the applause of Musa degenerated into envy; and he began, not to complain, but to fear that Tarik would leave him nothing to subdue. At the head of ten thousand Arabs and eight thousand Africans, he passed over in person from Mauritania to Spain; the first of his companions were the noblest of the
 Koreish;

* Such was the argument of the traitor Oppas, and every chief to whom it was addressed did not answer with the spirit of Pelagius: *Omnis Hispania dudum sub uno regimine Gothorum, omnis exercitus Hispaniæ in uno congregatus Ismaelitarum non valuit sustinere impetum.* Chron. Alphonsi Regis apud Pagi, tom. iii. p. 177.

† The revival of the Gothic kingdom in the Asturias is distinctly, though concisely noticed, by d'Anville, (*Etats de l'Europe*, p. 159.)

Koreish; his eldest son was left in the command of Africa; the three younger brethren were of an age and spirit to second the boldest enterprises of their father. At his landing in Algezire, he was respectfully entertained by count Julian, who stifled his inward remorse, and testified, both in words and actions, that the victory of the Arabs had not impaired his attachment to their cause. Some enemies yet remained for the sword of Musa. The tardy repentance of the Goths had compared their own numbers and those of the invaders; the cities from which the march of Tarik had declined, considered themselves as impregnable; and the bravest patriots defended the fortifications of Seville and Merida. They were successively besieged and reduced by the labour of Musa, who transported his camp from the Boetis to the Anas, from the Guadalquivir to the Guadiana. When he beheld the works of Roman magnificence, the bridge, the aqueducts, the triumphal arches, and the theatre, of the ancient metropolis of Lusitania, "I should imagine," said he to his four companions, "that the human race must have united their art and power in the foundation of this city; happy is the man who shall become its master!" He aspired to that happiness, but the *Emeritans* sustained on this occasion the honour of their descent from the veteran legionaries of Augustus *. Dis-
daining

* The honourable relics of the Cantabrian war (Dion. Cassius, l. liii. p. 720.) were planted in this metropolis of Lusitania, perhaps of Spain, (submittit cui tota suos Hispania fasces.) Nonius (Hispania, c. 31. p. 106—110.) enumerates the an-
cient

CHAP. daining the confinement of their walls, they gave
 LI. battle to the Arabs on the plain; but an ambus-
 cade rising from the shelter of a quarry, or a ruin, chastised their indiscretion and intercepted their return. The wooden turrets of assault were rolled forwards to the foot of the rampart; but the defence of Merida was obstinate and long; and the *castle of the martyrs* was a perpetual testimony of the losses of the Moslems. The constancy of the besieged was at length subdued by famine and despair; and the prudent victor disguised his impatience under the names of clemency and esteem. The alternative of exile or tribute was allowed; the churches were divided between the two religions; and the wealth of those who had fallen in the siege, or retired to Galicia, was confiscated as the reward of the faithful. In the midway between Merida and Toledo, the lieutenant of Musa saluted the vicegerent of the caliph, and conducted him to the palace of the Gothic kings. Their first interview was cold and formal; a rigid account was exacted of the treasures of Spain; the character of Tarik was exposed to suspicion and obloquy; and the hero was imprisoned, reviled, and ignominiously scourged by the hand, or the command of Musa. Yet so strict was the discipline, so pure the zeal, or so tame the spirit, of the primitive Moslems, that after this public indignity, Tarik could serve and be trusted in the reduction of the Tarragonese province. A mosch was erected at Saragossa, by the
 .liberality

cient structures, but concludes with a sigh: *Urbs hæc olim nobilissima ad magnam incolarum infrequentiam delapsa est et præter prisæ claritatis ruinas nihil ostendit.*

liberality of the Koreish : The port of Barcelona C H A P.
 was opened to the vessels of Syria; and the Goths LI.
 were pursued beyond the Pyrenean mountains into
 their Gallic province of Septimania or Languedoc*.
 In the church of St Mary at Carcassone, Musa
 found, but it is improbable that he left, seven
 equestrian statues of massy silver; and from his
term or column of Narbonne, he returned on his
 footsteps to the Gallician or Lusitanian shores of
 the ocean. During the absence of the father, his
 son Abdelaziz chastised the insurgents of Seville,
 and reduced, from Malaga to Valentia, the sea-
 coast of the Mediterranean : His original treaty
 with the discreet and valiant Theodemir † will re-
 present the manners and policy of the times. “ *The*
 “ *conditions of peace agreed and sworn between*
 “ *Abdelaziz, the son of Musa, the son of Nassir,*
 “ *and Theodemir prince of the Goths.* In the name
 “ of the most merciful God, Abdelaziz makes peace
 “ on these conditions : *That* Theodemir shall not
 VOL. IX. I i “ be

* Both the interpreters of Novairi, de Guignes, (Hist. des Huns. tom. i. p. 349.) and Cardonne, (Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne. tom. i. p. 93. 94. 104, 105.) lead Musa into the Narbonnese Gaul. But I find no mention of this enterprise either in Roderic of Toledo, or the MSS. of the Escorial, and the invasion of the Saracens is postponed by a French chronicle till the ixth year after the conquest of Spain, A. D. 711, (Pagi, Critica, tom. iii. p. 177. 195. Historians of France, tom. iii.) I much question whether Musa ever passed the Pyrenees.

† Four hundred years after Theodemir, his territories of Murcia and Carthagenia retain in the Nubian Geograp^r Edrisi (p. 154. 161.) the name of Tadmur, (D'Anville, Etats de l'Europe, p. 156. Pagi, tom. iii. p. 174.) In the present decay of Spanish agriculture, Mr Swinburne (Travels into Spain, p. 119.) surveyed with pleasure the delicious valley from Murcia to Orihuela, four leagues and a half of the finest corn, pulse, lucern, oranges, &c.

CHAP. "be disturbed in his principality; nor any injury
 LI. "be offered to the life or property, the wives and
 "children, the religion and temples, of the Christians: *That* Theodemir shall freely deliver his
 "seven cities, Orihuela, Valentola, Alicaut, Mola,
 "Vacasora, Bigerra, (now Bejar,) Ora, (or Opta,)
 "and Lorca: *That* he shall not assist, or entertain, the enemies of the caliph, but shall faithfully communicate his knowledge of their
 "hostile designs: *That* himself, and each of the
 "Gothic nobles, shall annually pay one piece of
 "gold, four measures of wheat, as many of barley, with a certain proportion of honey, oil, and
 "vinegar; and that each of their vassals shall be
 "taxed at one moiety of the said imposition.
 "Given the fourth of Regeb, in the year of the Hegira ninety-four, and subscribed with the names
 "of four Mussulman witnesses*." Theodemir and his subjects were treated with uncommon lenity; but the rate of tribute appears to have fluctuated from a tenth to a fifth, according to the submission or obstinacy of the Christians†. In this revolution,

* See the treaty in Arabic and Latin, in the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 105, 106. It is signed the 4th of the month of Regeb, A. H. 94, the 5th of April A. D. 713, a date which seems to prolong the resistance of Theodemir and the government of Musa.

† From the history of Sandoval, p. 87, Fleury (Hist. Eccles. tom. ix. p. 261.) has given the substance of another treaty concluded A. Æ. C. 782. A. D. 734, between an Arabian chief, and the Goths and Romans, of the territory of Conimbra in Portugal. The tax of the churches is fixed at twenty-five pounds of gold; of the monasteries, fifty; of the cathedrals, one hundred: The Christians are judged by their count, but in capital cases he must consult the alcaide. The church doors must be shut, and they must respect the name

tion, many partial calamities were inflicted by the carnal or religious passions of the enthusiasts; some churches were profaned by the new worship; some relics or images were confounded with idols; the rebels were put to the sword; and one town (an obscure place between Cordova and Seville) was razed to its foundations. Yet if we compare the invasion of Spain by the Goths, or its recovery by the kings of Castille and Arragon, we must applaud the moderation and discipline of the Arabian conquerors.

The exploits of Musa were performed in the evening of life, though he affected to disguise his age, by colouring with a red powder the whiteness of his beard. But in the love of action and glory, his breast was still fired with the ardour of youth; and the possession of Spain was considered only as the first step to the monarchy of Europe. With a powerful armament by sea and land, he was preparing to repass the Pyrenees, to extinguish in Gaul and Italy the declining kingdoms of the Franks and Lombards, and to preach the unity of God on the altar of the Vatican. From thence subduing the Barbarians of Germany, he proposed to follow the course of the Danube from its source to the Euxine Sea, to overthrow the Greek or Roman empire of Constantinople, and returning from Europe to Asia, to unite his new acquisitions with Antioch and the provinces of Syria *. But his vast enterprise,

Disgrace
of Musa,
A. D. 714.

name of Mahomet. I have not the original before me; it would confirm or destroy a dark suspicion, that the piece has been forged to introduce the immunity of a neighbouring convent.

* This design, which is attested by several Arabian historians, (Cardonné, tom. i. p. 95, 96.) may be compared with that of Mithridates,

CHAPTER. terprise, perhaps of easy execution, must have
 LI. seemed extravagant to vulgar minds; and the vi-
 sionary conqueror was soon reminded of his de-
 pendence and servitude. The friends of Tarik had
 effectually stated his services and wrongs : At the
 court of Damascus, the proceedings of Musa were
 blamed, his intentions were suspected, and his de-
 lay in complying with the first invitation was chas-
 tised by an harsher and more peremptory summons.
 An intrepid messenger of the caliph entered his
 camp at Lugo in Gallicia, and in the presence of
 the Saracens and Christians, arrested the bridle of
 his horse. His own loyalty, or that of his troops,
 inculcated the duty of obedience; and his disgrace
 was alleviated by the recal of his rival, and the
 permission of investing with his two governments
 his two sons, Abdallah and Abdelaziz. His long
 triumph from Ceuta to Damascus displayed the
 spoils of Afric and the treasures of Spain; four
 hundred Gothic nobles, with gold coronets and
 girdles, were distinguished in his train: And the
 number of male and female captives, selected for
 their birth or beauty, was computed at eighteen,
 or even at thirty, thousand persons. As soon as
 he reached Tiberias in Palestine, he was apprised
 of the sickness and danger of the caliph, by a pri-
 vate message from Soliman, his brother and pre-
 sumptive heir; who wished to reserve for his own
 reign the spectacle of victory. Had Walid re-
 covered, the delay of Musa would have been cri-
 minal :

Mithridates, to march from the Crimea to Rome; or with that
 of Cæsar, to conquer the East, and return home by the North:
 And all three are, perhaps, surpassed by the *real* and success-
 ful enterprise of Hannibal.

minal : He pursued his march, and found an enemy on the throne. In his trial before a partial judge, against a popular antagonist, he was convicted of vanity and falsehood ; and a fine of two hundred thousand pieces of gold either exhausted his poverty, or proved his rapaciousness. The unworthy treatment of Tarik was revenged by a similar indignity ; and the veteran commander, after a public whipping, stood a whole day in the sun before the palace gate, till he obtained a decent exile, under the pious name of a pilgrimage to Mecca. The resentment of the caliph might have been satiated with the ruin of Musa ; but his fears demanded the extirpation of a potent and injured family. A sentence of death was intimated with secrecy and speed to the trusty servants of the throne both in Africa and Spain ; and the forms, if not the substance, of justice, were superseded in this bloody execution. In the mosch or palace of Cordova, Abdelaziz was slain by the swords of the conspirators ; they accused their governor of claiming the honours of royalty ; and his scandalous marriage with Egilona, the widow of Roderic, offended the prejudices both of the Christians and Moslems. By a refinement of cruelty, the head of the son was presented to the father, with an insulting question, whether he acknowledged the features of the rebel ? " I know his features," he exclaimed with indignation : " I assert his innocence ; and " I imprecate the same, a juster fate, against the " authors of his death." The age and despair of Musa raised him above the power of kings ; and

CHAP. he expired at Mecca of the anguish of a broken heart. His rival was more favourably treated ; his services were forgiven ; and Tarik was permitted to mingle with the crowd of slaves *. I am ignorant, whether count Julian was rewarded with the death which he deserved indeed, though not from the hands of the Saracens ; but the tale of their ingratitude to the sons of Witiza is disproved by the most unquestionable evidence. The two royal youths were reinstated in the private patrimony of their father ; but on the decease of Eba the elder, his daughter was unjustly despoiled of her portion by the violence of her uncle Sigebut. The Gothic maid pleaded her cause before the caliph Hashim, and obtained the restitution of her inheritance ; but she was given in marriage to a noble Arabian, and their two sons, Isaac and Ibrahim, were received in Spain with the consideration that was due to their origin and riches.

Prosperity of Spain under the Arabs.

A province is assimilated to the victorious state by the introduction of strangers and the imitative spirit of the natives ; and Spain, which had been successively tinctured with Punic, and Roman, and Gothic blood, imbibed, in a few generations, the name and manners of the Arabs. The first conquerors, and the twenty successive lieutenants of the caliphs,

* I much regret our loss, or my ignorance, of two Arabic works of the eighth century, a *Life of Musa*, and a *Poem on the Exploits of Tarik*. Of these authentic pieces, the former was composed by a grandson of Musa, who had escaped from the massacre of his kindred ; the latter by the Vizir of the first Abdalrahman, caliph of Spain, who might have conversed with some of the veterans of the conqueror ; (Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 36. 139.)

caliphs were attended by a numerous train of civil and military followers, who preferred a distant fortune to a narrow home: The private and public interest was promoted by the establishment of faithful colonies; and the cities of Spain were proud to commemorate the tribe or country of their Eastern progenitors. The victorious though motley bands of Tarik and Musa, asserted, by the name of *Spaniards*, their original claim of conquest; yet they allowed their brethren of Egypt to share their establishments of Murcia and Lisbon. The royal legion of Damascus was planted at Cordova; that of Emesa at Seville; that of Kinnisrin or Chalcis at Jaen; that of Palestine at Algezire and Medina Sidonia. The natives of Yemen and Persia were scattered round Toledo and the inland country; and the fertile seats of Grenada were bestowed on ten thousand horsemen of Syria and Irak, the children of the purest and most noble of the Arabian tribes*. A spirit of emulation, sometimes beneficial, more frequently dangerous, was nourished by these hereditary factions. Ten years after the conquest, a map of the province was presented to the caliph: The seas, the rivers, and the har-

I i 4

bours,

* Bibliot. Arab. Hispana, tom. ii. p. 32. 252. The former of these quotations is taken from a *Biographiu Hispanica*, by an Arabian of Valentia; (see the copious Extracts of Casiri, tom. ii. p. 30—121.) and the latter from a general Chronology of the Caliphs, and of the African and Spanish Dynasties, with a particular History of the Kingdom of Grenada, of which Casiri has given almost an entire version, Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 177—319.) The author Ebn Khateb, a native of Grenada, and a contemporary of Novairi and Abulfeda, (born A. D. 1313, died A. D. 1374) was an historian, geographer, physician, poet, &c. (tom. ii. p. 71, 72.)

C H A P. bours, the inhabitants and cities, the climate, the
 LI. soil, and the mineral productions of the earth*.

In the space of two centuries, the gifts of nature were improved by the agriculture †, the manufactures, and the commerce of an industrious people; and the effects of their diligence have been magnified by the idleness of their fancy. The first of the Omniades who reigned in Spain solicited the support of the Christians; and, in his edict of peace and protection, he contents himself with a modest imposition of ten thousand ounces of gold, ten thousand pounds of silver, ten thousand horses, as many mules, one thousand cuirasses, with an equal number of helmets and lances ‡. The most powerful of his successors derived from the same kingdom the annual tribute of, twelve millions and forty-five thousand dinars or pieces of gold,

* Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i. p. 116, 117.

† A copious treatise of husbandry, by an Arabian of Seville, in the xiith century, is in the Escorial library, and Casiri had some thoughts of translating it. He gives a list of the authors quoted, Arabs as well as Greeks, Latins, &c.; but it is much if the Andalusian saw these strangers through the medium of his countryman Columella, (Casiri, Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. i. p. 323—338.)

‡ Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 104. Casiri translates the original testimony of the historian Rasis, as it is alleged in the Arabic Biographia Hispanica, pars ix. But I am most exceedingly surprised at the address, *Principibus cæterisque Christianis Hispanis suis Castellæ*. The name of *Castellæ* was unknown in the viiith century; the kingdom was not erected till the year 1022, an hundred years after the time of Rasis, (Bibliot. tom. ii. p. 330.) and the appellation was always expressive, not of a tributary province, but of a line of *castles* independent of the Moorish yoke, (d'Anville, *Etats de l'Europe*, p. 166—170.) Had Casiri been a critic, he would have cleared a difficulty, perhaps of his own making.

gold, about six millions of Sterling money *; a sum, which, in the tenth century, most probably surpassed the united revenues of the Christian monarchs. His royal seat of Cordova contained six hundred moschs, nine hundred baths, and two hundred thousand houses: He gave laws to eighty cities of the first, to three hundred of the second and third order; and the fertile banks of the Guadalquivir were adorned with twelve thousand villages and hamlets. The Arabs might exaggerate the truth, but they created and they describe the most prosperous æra of the riches, the cultivation, and the populousness of Spain †.

The wars of the Moslems were sanctified by the prophet; but, among the various precepts and examples of his life, the caliphs selected the lessons of toleration that might tend to disarm the resistance of the unbelievers. Arabia was the temple and patrimony of the God of Mahomet; but he beheld with less jealousy and affection the nations of the earth. The polytheists and idolaters who were ignorant of his name, might be lawfully extirpated

Religious
toleration.

* Cardonne, tom. i. p. 337, 338. He computes the revenue at 130,000,000 of French livres. The entire picture of peace and prosperity relieves the bloody uniformity of the Moorish annals.

† I am happy enough to possess a splendid and interesting work, which has only been distributed in presents by the court of Madrid: *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis, opera et studio Michaelis Casiri, Syro Maronita. Matritæ, in folio, tomus prior, 1760. tomus posterior, 1770.* The execution of this work does honour to the Spanish press; the MSS. to the number of mccccli, are judiciously classed, by the editor, and his copious extracts throw some light on the Mahometan literature and history of Spain. These relics are now secure, but the task has been supinely delayed, till in the year, 1771, a fire consumed the greatest part of the Escorial library, rich in the spoils of Grenada and Morocco.

was expiated, every engagement was dissolved: C H A P.
 The vow of celibacy was superseded by the indul- III
 gence of nature; the active spirits who slept in the
 cloister were awakened by the trumpet of the Sa-
 racens; and in the convulsion of the world, every
 member of a new society ascended to the natural
 level of his capacity and courage. The minds of
 the multitude were tempted by the invisible as
 well as temporal blessings of the Arabian prophet;
 and charity will hope that many of his proselytes
 entertained a serious conviction of the truth and
 sanctity of his revelation. In the eyes of an in-
 quisitive polytheist, it must appear worthy of the hu-
 man and the divine nature. More pure than the
 system of Zoroaster, more liberal than the law of
 Moses, the religion of Mahomet might seem less
 inconsistent with reason, than the creed of myste-
 ry and superstition, which, in the seventh centu-
 ry, disgraced the simplicity of the gospel.

In the extensive provinces of Persia and Africa, Fall of the
Magians
of Persia.
 the national religion has been eradicated by the
 Mahometan faith. The ambiguous theology of
 the Magi stood alone among the sects of the East:
 But the profane writings of Zoroaster * might,
 under

* The Zend or Pazend, the bible of the Ghebers, is reckon-
 ed by themselves, or at least by the Mahometans, among the
 ten books which Abraham received from heaven; and their re-
 ligion is honourably stiled the religion of Abraham; (d'Herbe-
 lot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 701.; Hyde, de Religione veterum
 Persarum, c. iii. p. 27, 28, &c.) I much fear that we do not
 possess any pure and free description of the system of Zoroaster.
 Dr Prideaux (Connection, vol. i. p. 300. octavo) adopts the
 opinion, that he had been the slave and scholar of some Jewish
 prophet in the captivity of Babylon. Perhaps the Persians, who
 have been the masters of the Jews, would assert the honour, a
 poor honour, of being *their* masters.

CHAPTER. under the reverend name of Abraham, be dextrously connected with the chain of divine revelation. Their evil principle, the dæmon Abriaman, might be represented as the rival or as the creature of the God of light. The temples of Persia were devoid of images; but the worship of the sun and of fire might be stigmatized as a gross and criminal idolatry*. The milder sentiment was consecrated by the practice of Mahomet † and the prudence of the caliphs; the Magians, or Ghebers, were ranked with the Jews and Christians among the people of the written law ‡; and as late as the third century of the Hegira, the city of Herat will afford a lively contrast of private zeal and public toleration §. Under the payment of an annual tribute, the Mahometan law secured to the Ghebers of Herat their civil and religious liberties; but the recent and humble mosch was overshadowed

* The Arabian Nights, a faithful and amusing picture of the Oriental world, represent, in the most odious colours, the Magians, or worshippers of fire, to whom they attribute the annual sacrifice of a Mussulman. The religion of Zoroaster has not the least affinity with that of the Hindoos, yet they are often confounded by the Mahometans; and the sword of Timour was sharpened by this mistake, (Hist. de Timour Bec, par Cherefeddin Ali Yezdi, l. v.)

† Vie de Mahomet, par Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 114, 115.

‡ Hæ tres sectæ, Judæi, Christiani, et qui inter Persas Magorum institutis addicti sunt, κατ' ἔξωκ, *populi libri* dicuntur, (Reland, Dissertat. tom. iii. p. 15.) The caliph Al Mamun confirms this honourable distinction in favour of the three sects, with the vague and equivocal religion of the Sabæans, under which the ancient polytheists of Charræ were allowed to shelter their idolatrous worship, (Hottinger, Hist. Orient. p. 167, 168.)

§ This singular story is related by d'Herbelot, (Bibliot. Orient. p. 448, 449.) on the faith of Khondemir, and by Mirchond himself, (Hist. priorum Regum Persarum, &c. p. 91, 109, not p. 88, 89.)

shadowed by the antique splendour of the adjoining temple of fire. A fanatic Imam deplored, in his sermons, the scandalous neighbourliness, and accused the weakness or indifference of the faithful. Excited by his voice, the people assembled in tumult; the two houses of prayer were consumed by the flames, but the vacant ground was immediately occupied by the foundations of a new mosque. The injured Magi appealed to the sovereign of Chorasán; he promised justice and relief; when, behold! four thousand citizens of Herat, of a grave character and mature age, unanimously swore that the idolatrous fane had *never* existed; the inquisition was silenced, and their conscience was satisfied (says the historian Mirchond*) with this holy and meritorious perjury†. But the greatest part of the temples of Persia were ruined by the insensible and general

* Mirchond, (Mohammed Emir Khoondah Shah,) a native of Herat, composed, in the Persian language, a general history of the East, from the Creation to the year of the Hegira 875, (A. D. 1471.) In the year 904, (A. D. 1498,) the historian obtained the command of a princely library, and his applauded work, in seven or twelve parts, was abbreviated in three volumes by his son Khondemir, A. H. 927, A. D. 1520. The two writers, most accurately distinguished by Petit de la Croix; (Hist. de Genghizcan, p. 537, 538. 544, 545.) are loosely confounded by d'Herbelot, (p. 358. 410. 994, 995.) but his numerous extracts, under the improper name of Khondemir, belong to the father rather than the son. The historian of Genghizcan refers to a MS. of Mirchond, which he received from the hands of his friend d'Herbelot himself. A curious fragment (the Taherian and Soffarian Dynasties) has been lately published in Persic and Latin, (Viennæ, 1782, in quarto, cum notis Bernard de Jenisch;) and the editor allows us to hope for a continuation of Mirchond.

† Quo testimonio boni se quidpiam præstitisse opinabatur. Yet Mirchond must have condemned their zeal, since he approved the legal toleration of the Magi, cui (the fire temple) peracto singulis annis censu, uti sacra Mohammedis lege cautum, ab omnibus molestiis ac oneribus libero esse licuit.

CHAP. general desertion of their votaries. ~~It was inten-~~
 LI. ~~sible~~, since it is not accompanied with any me-
 morial of time or place, of persecution or resist-
 ance. It was *general*, since the whole realm, from
 Shiraz to Samarcand, imbibed the faith of the
 Koran; and the preservation of the native tongue
 reveals the descent of the Mahometans of Persia*.
 In the mountains and deserts, an obstinate race of
 unbelievers adhered to the superstition of their
 fathers; and a faint tradition of the Magian theo-
 logy is kept alive in the province of Kirman, along
 the banks of the Indus, among the exiles of Surat,
 and in the colony, which, in the last century, was
 planted by Shaw Abbas at the gates of Ispahan.
 The chief pontiff has retired to mount Elbourz,
 eighteen leagues from the city of Yezd; the per-
 petual fire (if it continue to burn) is inaccessible to
 the profane; but his residence is the school, the
 oracle, and the pilgrimage, of the Ghebers, whose
 hard and uniform features attest the unmingled
 purity of their blood. Under the jurisdiction of
 their elders, eighty thousand families maintain
 an innocent and industrious life; their subsist-
 ence is derived from some curious manufactures
 and mechanic trades; and they cultivate the earth
 with the fervour of a religious duty. Their ig-
 norance withstood the despotism of Shaw Abbas,
 who

* The last Magian of name and power appears to be Marda-
 vige the Dilemite, who, in the beginning of the tenth century,
 reigned in the northern provinces of Persia, near the Caspian
 Sea, (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 335.) But his soldiers and
 successors, the *Bowides*, either professed or embraced the Ma-
 hometan faith; and under their dynasty (A. D. 933—1070) I
 should place the fall of the religion of Zoroaster.

who demanded with threats and tortures the prophetic books of Zoroaster; and this obscure remnant of the Magians is spared by the moderation or contempt of their present sovereigns*.

G H A B.
LI.

The northern coast of Africa is the only land in which the light of the Gospel, after a long and perfect establishment, has been totally extinguished. The arts, which had been taught by Carthage and Rome, were involved in a cloud of ignorance; the doctrine of Cyprian and Augustan was no longer studied. Five hundred episcopal churches were overturned by the hostile fury of the Donatists, the Vandals, and the Moors. The zeal and numbers of the clergy declined; and the people, without discipline, or knowledge, or hope, submissively sunk under the yoke of the Arabian prophet.

Decline
and fall of
Christi-
anity in
Africa.

Within fifty years after the expulsion of the Greeks, a lieutenant of Africa informed the caliph that the tribute of the infidels was abolished by their conversion†; and, though he sought to disguise his fraud and rebellion, his specious pretence was drawn from the rapid and extensive progress of the Mahometan faith. In the next age an extraordinary mission of five bishops was detached from Alexandria to Cairoan. They were ordained by the

A.D. 749.

A.D. 837.

Jacobite

* The present state of the Ghebers in Persia is taken from Sir John Chardin, not indeed the most learned, but the most judicious and inquisitive of our modern travellers. (*Voyages in Perse*, tom. ii. p. 109. 179—187. in 4to.) His brethren, Pietro della Valle, Olearius, Thevenot, Tavernier, &c. whom I have fruitlessly searched, had neither eyes nor attention for this interesting people.

† The letter of Abdoulrahman, governor or tyrant of Africa, to the caliph Aboul Abbas, the first of the Abassides; is dated A. H. 132, (Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, tom. i. p. 168.)

C H A P. Jacobite patriarch to cherish and revive the dying
LI. embers of Christianity *: But the interposition
 of a foreign prelate, a stranger to the Latins, an
 enemy to the Catholics, supposes the decay and
 dissolution of the African hierarchy. It was no
 longer the time when the successor of St Cyprian,
 at the head of a numerous synod, could maintain
 an equal contest with the ambition of the Roman
 pontiff. In the eleventh century, the unfortunate
 priest who was seated on the ruins of Carthage,
 implored the arms and the protection of the Vati-
 can; and he bitterly complains that his naked body
 had been scourged by the Saracens, and that his
 authority was disputed by the four suffragans, the
 tottering pillars of his throne. Two epistles of
 Gregory the seventh † are destined to sooth the
 distress of the Catholics and the pride of a Moor-
 ish prince. The pope assures the sultan that they
 both worship the same God, and may hope to
 meet in the bosom of Abraham; but the complaint,
 that three bishops could no longer be found to
 consecrate a brother, announces the speedy and
 inevitable ruin of the episcopal order. The Chris-
 tians of Africa and Spain had long since submitted
 to the practice of circumcision and the legal absti-
 nence from wine and pork; and the name of *Mozarabes*

and Spain.
A. D.
 1053.—
 1076.
 1149, &c.

* Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 66. Renaudot. Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 287, 288.

† Among the Epistles of the Popes, see Leo IX. epist. 3. Gregor. VII. l. i. epist. 22, 23. l. iii. epist. 19, 20, 21.; and the criticisms of Pagi, (tom. iv. A. D. 1053, No. 14. A. D. 1073, No. 13.) who investigates the name and family of the Moorish prince, with whom the proudest of the Roman pontiffs so politely corresponds.

rabes * (adoptive Arabs) was applied to their civil or religious conformity †. About the middle of the twelfth century, the worship of Christ and the succession of pastors were abolished along the coast of Barbary, and in the kingdoms of Cordova and Seville, of Valencia and Grenada ‡. The throne of the Almohades, or Unitarians, was founded on the blindest fanaticism, and their extraordinary rigour might be provoked or justified by the recent victories and intolerant zeal of the princes of Sicily and Castille, of Arragon and Portugal. The faith of the Mozarabes was occasionally revived

C H A P.
LI.

A. D.
1535.

VOL. IX.

K k

by

* Mozarabes, or Mostarabes, *adscititii*, as it is interpreted in Latin, (Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 39, 40. Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 18.) The Mozarabic liturgy, the ancient ritual of the church of Toledo, has been attacked by the popes, and exposed to the doubtful trials of the sword and of fire, (Marian. Hist. Hispan. tom. i. l. ix. c. 18. p. 378.) It was, or rather it is, in the Latin tongue; yet, in the eleventh century, it was found necessary (A. Æ. C. 1687, A. D. 1039) to transcribe an Arabic version of the canons of the councils of Spain, (Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. tom. i. p. 547.) for the use of the bishops and clergy in the Moorish kingdoms.

† About the middle of the tenth century, the clergy of Cordova was reproached with this criminal compliance, by the intrepid envoy of the emperor Otho I. (Vit. Johan. Gorz, in Secul. Benedict. V. No. 115. apud Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xii. p. 91.)

‡ Pagi, Critica, tom. iv. A. D. 1149, No. 8, 9. He justly observes, that when Seville, &c. were retaken by Ferdinand of Castille, no Christians, except captives, were found in the place; and that the Mozarabic churches of Africa and Spain, described by James à Vitriaco, A. D. 1118, (Hist. Hierosol. c. 80. p. 1095. in Gest. Dei per Francos, are copied from some older book. I shall add, that the date of the Hegira, 677, (A. D. 1278,) must apply to the copy, not the composition, of a treatise of jurisprudence, which states the civil rights of the Christians of Cordova; (Bibliot. Arab. Hist. tom. i. p. 471.) and that the Jews were the only dissenters whom Abul Waled, king of Grenada, (A. D. 1313,) could either discountenance or tolerate, (tom. ii. p. 288.)

CHAP. by the papal missionaries ; and, on the landing of
 LI. Charles the fifth, some families of Latin Christians
 were encouraged to rear their heads at Tunis and
 Algiers. But the seed of the gospel was quickly
 eradicated, and the long province from Tripoli to
 the Atlantic has lost all memory of the language
 and religion of Rome *.

Tolera-
 tion of
 the Chris-
 tians.

After the revolution of eleven centuries, the Jews
 and Christians of the Turkish empire enjoy the
 liberty of conscience, which was granted by the
 Arabian caliphs. During the first age of the con-
 quest, they suspected the loyalty of the Catholics,
 whose name of Melchites betrayed their secret at-
 tachment to the Greek emperor, while the Nesto-
 rians and Jacobites, his inveterate enemies, ap-
 proved themselves the sincere and voluntary friends
 of the Mahometan government †. Yet this par-
 tial jealousy was healed by time and submission ;
 the churches of Egypt were shared with the Catho-
 lics ‡ ; and all the Oriental sects were included in
 the common benefits of toleration. The rank,
 the immunities, the domestic jurisdiction, of the
 patriarchs, the bishops, and the clergy, were pro-
 tected

* Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 288. Leo Africanus
 would have flattered his Roman masters, could he have disco-
 vered any latent relics of the Christianity of Africa.

† Absit (said the Catholic to the Vizir of Bagdad) ut pari
 loco habeas Nestorianos, quorum præter Arabas nullus alius
 rex est, et Græcos quorum reges amovendo Arabibus bello non
 desistunt, &c. See in the *Collections of Assemanus*, (*Bib-
 liot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 94—101.*) the state of the Nestorians
 under the caliphs. That of the Jacobites is more concisely ex-
 posed in the *Preliminary Dissertation* of the second volume of
Assemanus.

‡ Eutych. *Annal. tom. ii. p. 384. 387, 388.* Renaudot,
Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 205, 206. 257. 332. A taint of the
 Monothelite heresy might render the first of these Greek patri-
 archs less loyal to the emperors, and less obnoxious to the Arabs.

tected by the civil magistrate: The learning of in- C H A P.
 dividuals recommended them to the employments LI.
 of secretaries and physicians; they were enriched
 by the lucrative collection of the revenue; and
 their merit was sometimes raised to the command
 of cities and provinces. A caliph of the house of
 Abbas was heard to declare, that the Christians
 were most worthy of trust in the administration
 of Persia. "The Moslems," said he, "will abuse
 "their present fortune; the Magians regret their
 "fallen greatness; and the Jews are impatient for
 "their approaching deliverance *." But the Their
 slaves of despotism are exposed to the alternatives hardships.
 of favour and disgrace. The captive churches of
 the East have been afflicted in every age by the
 avarice or bigotry of their rulers; and the ordinary
 and legal restraints must be offensive to the pride
 or the zeal of the Christians †. About two hun-
 dred years after Mahomet, they were separated
 from their fellow-subjects by a turban or girdle of
 a less honourable colour; instead of horses or
 mules, they were condemned to ride on asses, in
 the attitude of women. Their public and private
 buildings were measured by a diminutive standard;
 in the streets of the baths, it is their duty to give

K k 2

way

* Motadhed, who had reigned from A. D. 892—902. The Magians still held their name and rank among the religions of the empire. (Assemani, *Bibliot. Orient.* tom. iv. p. 97.)

† Reland explains the general restraints of the Mahometan policy and jurisprudence. (*Dissertat.* tom. iii. p. 16—20.) The oppressive edicts of the caliph Motawakkel, (A. D. 847—861.) which are still in force, are noticed by Eutychius, (*Annal.* tom. ii. p. 448.) and d'Herbelot, (*Bibliot. Orient.* p. 640.) A persecution of the caliph Omar II. is related, and most probably magnified, by the Greek Theophanes, (*Chron.* p. 334.)

CHAP. way or bow down before the meanest of the people;
 LI. and their testimony is rejected, if it may tend to
 the prejudice of a true believer. The pomp of processions, the sound of bells or of psalmody, is interdicted in their worship; a decent reverence for the national faith is imposed on their sermons and conversations; and the sacrilegious attempt to enter a mosch, or to seduce a Mussulman, will not be suffered to escape with impunity. In a time, however, of tranquillity and justice, the Christians have never been compelled to renounce the Gospel or to embrace the Koran; but the punishment of death is inflicted upon the apostates who have professed and deserted the law of Mahomet. The martyrs of Cordova provoked the sentence of the cadhi, by the public confession of their inconstancy, or their passionate invectives against the person and religion of the prophet*.

The empire of the caliphs, A. D. 718.

At the end of the first century of the Hegira, the caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe. Their prerogative was not circumscribed, either in right or in fact, by the power of the nobles, the freedom of the commons, the privileges of the church, the votes of a senate, or the memory of a free constitution. The authority

* The martyrs of Cordova (A. D. 850. &c.) are commemorated and justified by St Eulogius, who at length fell a victim himself. A synod, convened by the caliph, ambiguously censured their rashness. The moderate Fleury cannot reconcile their conduct with the discipline of antiquity, toute-fois l'autorité de l'église, &c. (Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. x. p. 415—522. particularly, p. 451. 508, 509.) Their authentic acts throw a strong, though transient light, on the Spanish church in the ninth century.

rity of the companions of Mahomet expired with their lives ; and the chiefs or emirs of the Arabian tribes left behind, in the desert, the spirit of equality and independence. The regal and sacerdotal characters were united in the successors of Mahomet ; and if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conquest over the nations of the East, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accustomed to applaud in their tyrants the acts of violence and severity, that were exercised at their own expence. Under the last of the Ommiades, the Arabian empire extended two hundred days journey from east to west, from the confines of Tartary and India to the shores of the Atlantic ocean. And if we retrench the sleeve of the robe, as it is stiled by their writers, the long and narrow province of Africa, the solid and compact dominion from Fargana to Aden, from Tarsus to Surat, will spread on every side to the measure of four or five months of the march of a caravan *. We should vainly seek the indissoluble union and easy obedience that pervaded the government of Augustus and the Antonines ; but the progress of the Mahometan religion diffused over this ample space a general resemblance of manners and opinions. The language and laws of the Koran were studied with

* See the article *Eslamiab*, (as we say Christendom,) in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, (p. 325.) This chart of the Mahometan world is suited by the author, Ebn Alwardi, to the year of the Hegira 385, (A. D. 995.) Since that time, the losses in Spain have been overbalanced by the conquests in India, Tartary, and the European Turkey.

CHAP. with equal devotion at Samarcand and Seville :

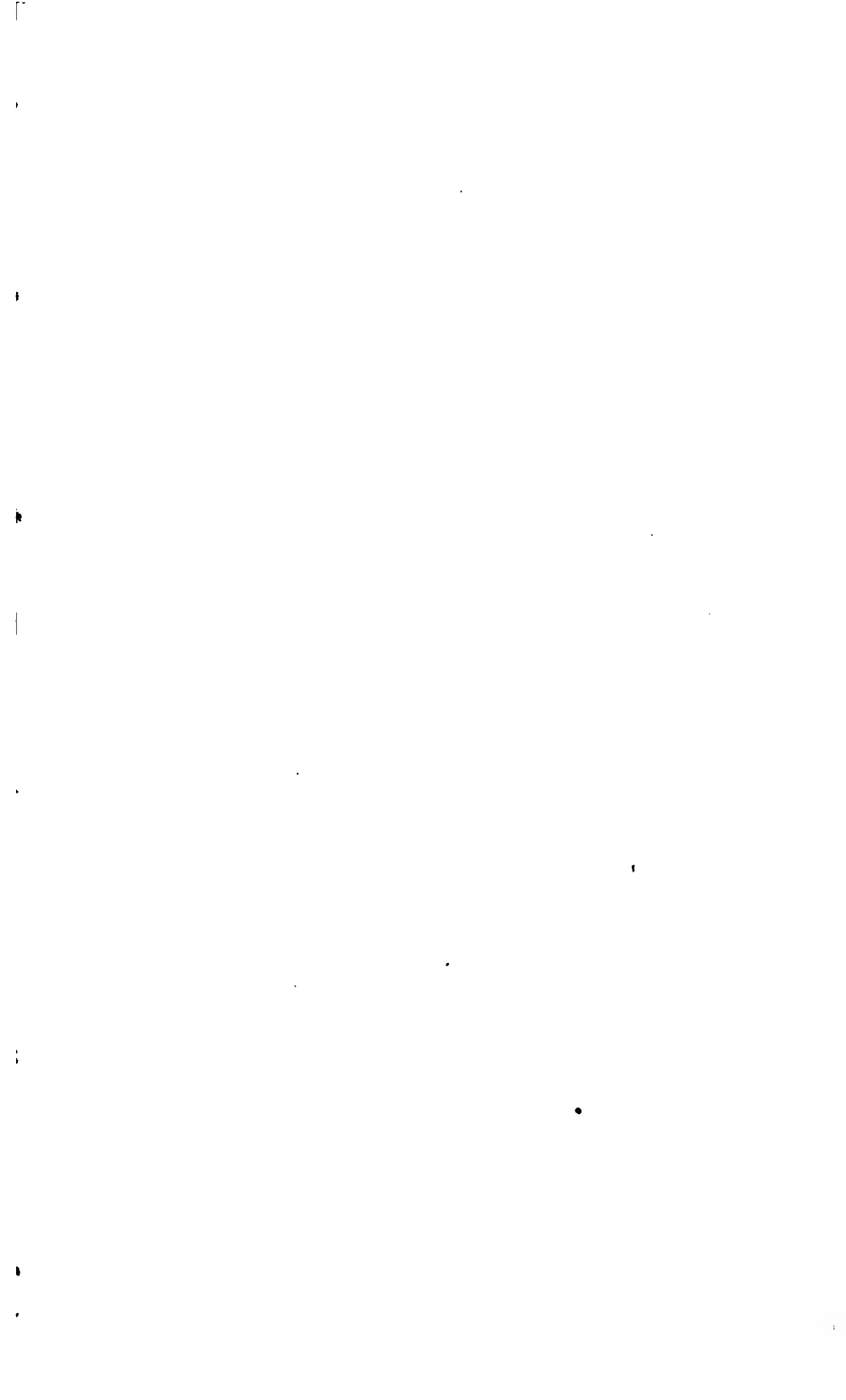
LI. The Moor and the Indian embraced as countrymen and brothers in the pilgrimage of Mecca ; and the Arabian language was adopted as the popular idiom in all the provinces to the westward of the Tigris *.

* The Arabic of the Koran is taught as a dead language in the college of Mecca. By the Danish traveller, this ancient idiom is compared to the Latin ; the vulgar tongue of Hejaz and Yemen to the Italian ; and the Arabian dialects of Syria, Egypt, Africa, &c. to the Provençal, Spanish, and Portuguese, (Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, p. 74, &c.)

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.

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